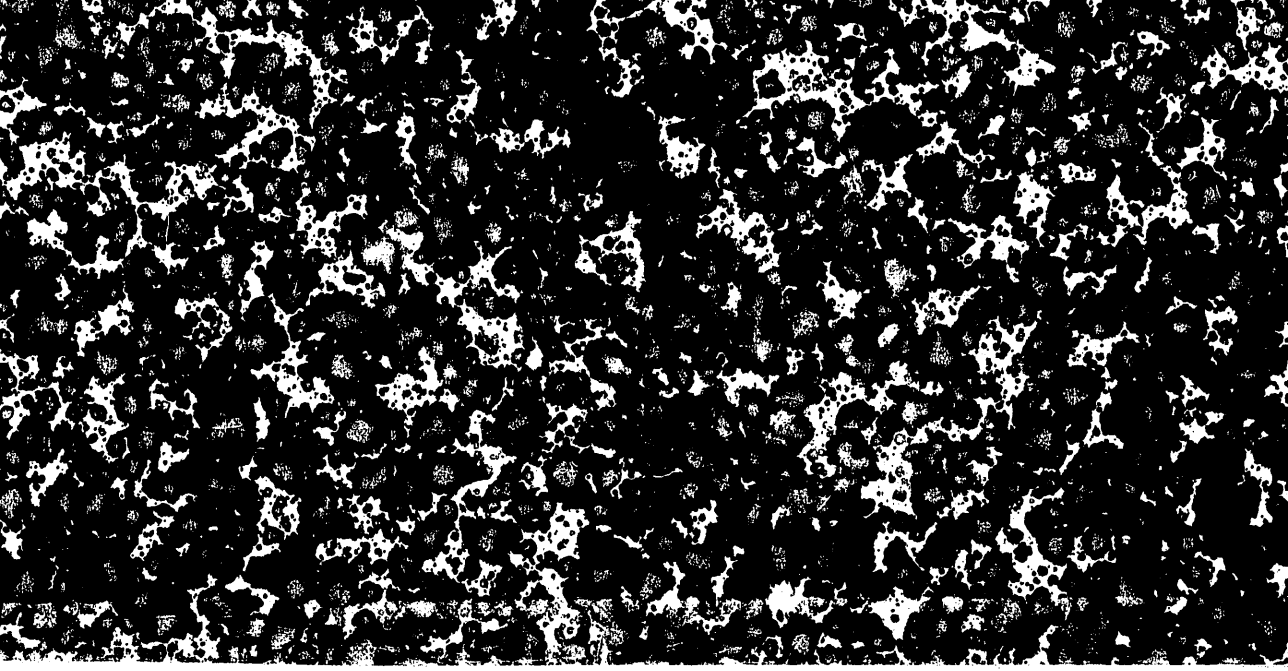

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AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA

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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD

An INDIAN APPROACH *To* INDIA

Chapters by a Group of Nationals Interpreting the Christian Movement

Assembled and edited by

MILTON STAUFFER

Educational Secretary Student Volunteer Movement

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

MANILAL C. PAREKH is a native of western India. A Jain by birth, he became in youth a member of the Brahmo Samaj, and some years later a Christian. He was for ten years a missionary of the church of Keshub Chunder Sen, leader of the Brahmo Samaj, whose life he has written (in English). In the vernacular he has produced nearly a dozen religious books, including translations. Among his English works are one on Mahatma Gandhi, written in collaboration with the Rev. R. M. Gray, and one on Ram Mohan Roy. Quoting now the author's own words: "In 1918 I took baptism, and for about a year remained a kind of active member of the Anglican Church, but since 1919 I have severed my active relations with all missions and churches, and have been working as an independent evangelist, going about all over the country and even outside. I call myself a Hindu disciple of Christ, and live with my own people, none of whom is baptized."

JOHN JESUDASON CORNELIUS holds degrees from Ohio Wesleyan University, Boston University, and the universities of Harvard and Columbia. Formerly he was Professor of Philosophy at Lucknow University, India. He was a delegate to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield, Massachusetts, in May, 1924, and to the nineteenth World Conference of the Y.M.C.A. at Helsingfors in 1926. At the Williamstown Institute of Politics in 1925 he was special lecturer, and in 1926 he was a member of the Institute of International Politics at Geneva.

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C. E. ABRAHAM was born in 1898 in Travancore, south India, and is a member of the Mar Thoma (Reformed) Syrian Church of Malabar. In 1918 he passed the B.A. honors examination of the Calcutta University in the first class, in 1920 took the B.D. degree from Serampore College, Bengal, and in 1921 the M.A. degree from Calcutta University. He was for a year Traveling Secretary of the Student Christian Movement in India, and since 1925 has been a professor at Serampore College.

A. THAKAR DASS, son of the late Rev. G. L. Thakar Dass, was born in 1891. He is a graduate of Forman Christian College, Lahore, and of the Theological Seminary at Saharanpur. At the conclusion of postgraduate work in Union Theological Seminary, New York, he received the degree of A.M. Since 1919 he has been pastor of the Naulakha Presbyterian Church in Lahore. He is a member of the National Christian Council, and is Vice-President of the Punjab Christian Council.

K. T. PAUL, now about fifty years of age, is descended from several generations of Christians in south India. His father was a government official in Salem, where Mr. Paul was born and where the family still has its home. Graduating from Madras Christian College, he became headmaster of a mission school, and after studying law went into the employ of the government, following which he became tutor in history in the Madras Christian College. In 1905, when the National Missionary Society was founded by a group of Indian Christians, Mr. Paul became its first General Secretary, and for the next nine years traveled about India in its interests. In 1913 he became one of the National General Secretaries of the Young Men's Christian Associations in India. In 1916, when the American General Secretary of the Indian Y.M.C.A. left India to undertake war service, he was made General Secretary, and served in that capacity for the next ten years. He is particularly identified with the development of the work of rural reconstruction, and with instruction in the building of nationhood in the rural areas. Himself a landowner, in his holdings he has introduced various modern methods of agriculture. He has been related to the important union missionary undertakings in India, and has enjoyed unqualified leadership among Indian Christians, as well as contacts with the political, social and economic leaders of the day.

K. K. KURUVILLA, M.A., B.D., is a member of the ancient Syrian Christian community of Travancore. Educated in the Madras Christian College, after graduation he became Traveling Secretary for India to the Indian Student Christian Movement for two years. Going to the United States, he studied in the Hartford (Connecticut) Theological Seminary for three years, and then went to England to work for eight months among Indian students in the universities at the request of the Indian Y.M.C.A. On his return to India he was appointed professor in the United Theological Seminary, Bangalore, and after three years was called by his church, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church,

to work in Travancore. At present he is Headmaster of the Mar Thoma Syrian Boys' High School and Principal of the Mar Thoma Syrian Theological Seminary in Kottayam, Travancore.

PUTHENVEETIL OOMAN PHILIP is a member of the Old Syrian Church in south India. After graduating from Madras University in 1909 he joined the National Missionary Society of India, and was sent as a missionary to the district of North Kanara in Bombay Presidency, a district worked by the society in connection with the Syrian Church. Later he was appointed one of the organizing secretaries of the society, and in 1917 became its General Secretary. In 1924, when the National Christian Council of India was reorganized, Mr. Philip became its Indian Secretary.

A. M. K. CUMARASWAMY, holding the degree of B.Sc. from London University, was until recently lecturer in physics at Trinity College, Kandy, Ceylon, where he acted for some time as Vice-Principal. A convert from Hinduism, he is a member of the Anglican Communion, and in January, 1927, became Secretary of the Diocese of Colombo. He represented the Indian Student Christian Movement at the World's Student Christian Federation conference in Peking, 1922, and in High Leigh, 1926, and is at present chairman of the General Committee of the Student Christian Movement of India, Burma, and Ceylon.

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CHRISTIAN VOICES AROUND THE WORLD SERIES

VOICES FROM THE NEAR EAST
CHINA HER OWN INTERPRETER
JAPAN SPEAKS FOR HERSELF
AN INDIAN APPROACH TO INDIA
THINKING WITH AFRICA
AS PROTESTANT LATIN AMERICA SEES IT

PREFACE

THE present student generation in North America is no longer willing to depend entirely on the foreign missionary for its understanding of Christian movements in so-called mission fields. For practically the same reasons many missionaries are beginning to feel that they have been speaking for the Christian converts of other lands long enough. In the judgment of both these groups the day for the voice of nationals to be heard in our Western churches is at hand. That there are Christian leaders today in almost every land who are sufficiently able to interpret the Christianity of their communities to parent communities in the West, is living proof of the prophetic insight of pioneer missionaries who long ago by faith first caught the vision of this day. To their faithful witness and early sowing, this series entitled *Christian Voices Around the World* is affectionately dedicated.

As never before, the young people of our North American churches and colleges find themselves sympathetic toward the national and racial aspirations of other peoples. Their sympathy leads them to question some of the aims and methods in the Christian missionary enterprise which appear to ignore or run counter to these aspirations. Many of them have

heard their own and foreign fellow-students counsel immediate discontinuance of foreign missions as now conducted, and even express doubt as to whether the missionary enterprise can be longer justified. However able the missionaries may be to deal with perplexities like these, they cannot satisfy the desire of those who are disturbed, to hear the opinion of nationals as well. Not until the Christian youth of North America are convinced that the foreign missionary enterprise is fulfilling, in the judgment of indigenous Christian leaders, the largest needs of the peoples it means to serve, will they be enthusiastically behind it, at home or abroad.

This *Christian Voices Around the World* series has been initiated and sponsored by the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions. We have been encouraged from the beginning by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, representing missionaries and foreign mission board secretaries, by the Council of Christian Associations, representing students and student leaders, and by the Missionary Education Movement, representing the mission boards in their cooperative educational work among the churches. In order that the books might be just as readily available to the young people of the churches as to college students, the Missionary Education Movement offered to publish the series, and

has generously put all of its resources for editing and circulation into the enterprise.

In view of the purpose of this series and of the character of the manuscripts a statement of editorial policy is due both authors and readers. Some chapters were written in English, and others came to us as rough translations, manifesting in both cases varying stages of knowledge of the language. Many chapters were in uncertain stages so far as arrangement of material and literary quality are concerned. But more of them than the average reader might suppose were submitted in such form as to require surprisingly few editorial changes. Wherever the grammatical construction in the original was obviously wrong or obscured or impaired the thought, I have not hesitated to change, even drastically, both construction and phraseology. Verbal substitutions in the interest of clarity have also been made. Frequently the idiomatic terms which seemed to have been intended have been supplied. Wherever the meaning could not be determined, rather than risk misrepresenting the author the part was deleted. There have also been the usual editorial exigencies relating to space. Having said this, let me hasten to add that scrupulous effort has been made to preserve the integrity of thought and the individuality of each manuscript. The constant endeavor has been to safe-

guard both the intention of the writer and the underlying spirit of the series.

Annotations by way of directing the reader to supplementary material, or defining the terms used, or suggesting other points of view in the interests of a more balanced presentation, have been omitted. For so many years the missionary's point of view has been presented without annotations from nationals that it now seems only fair to apply the same method the other way around.

Readers will discover defects inevitable to a symposium. There is repetition because of overlapping ground and the inability of the writers to consult together. The contributions are not of equal literary quality, and wide differences of intellectual content exist between chapters. The material is not always what missionaries themselves would have presented, nor is it always the most significant with reference to present phases of missionary interest in North America. On the other hand it is exactly what we have asked for, an honest revelation of what Christian nationals are thinking and saying among themselves. No attempts have been made to reconcile conflicting opinions. Wherever possible the edited manuscripts have been submitted with the originals to consultants from the country concerned for scrutiny of changes made. Obviously the author of each chapter is alone responsible for the facts and the opinions stated.

In *An Indian Approach to India* we have an able presentation by prominent Indian Christians of contemporary situations and opinions in India as these concern the Christian movement. Mr. P. O. Philip, Indian Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, with headquarters at Poona, very kindly accepted the responsibility of assembling the manuscripts on the field. The inability of the authors to come together was compensated for by correspondence and the efficient management of Mr. Philip.

The sixth chapter of this volume, written by Mr. K. T. Paul, entitled "Christianity and Indian Nationhood," appeared in *The Hindu* of Madras several months ago. In thanking the authors for their contributions, the editor desires to express special appreciation to Dr. John J. Cornelius, of Lucknow, now a graduate student at Columbia University. After it became known that we could expect no chapter directly from India on the general subject of "Our Changing Life and Thought," Dr. Cornelius at considerable inconvenience consented to supply one.

MILTON STAUFFER.

New York,
October, 1927.

I

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

TO say that the land of the Hindus, known as Hindustan, has a civilization as old as any existing in the world today is but to say the bare truth. The only other country which can boast of an equally ancient civilization is China, but inasmuch as China owes the best it has—that is, Buddhism—to India, the Hindu civilization may truly be said to be not only as old as any but spread over a much wider area than merely Hindustan. It claims to be the mother of civilizations. While this claim may be an exaggerated one, it remains an indisputable fact that through Buddhism, which is in reality an Aryan product, the culture of this country spread itself over every part of Asia, both east and west, into countries as remote as China, Japan and Korea. In the classical work entitled *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Sir Charles Eliot has traced the growth and expansion of Hindu civilization and culture and has conclusively shown how homogeneous is the cultural life of the many lands to which it spread.

This wide dispersion of Hindu culture was possible largely because it had in itself certain qualities

which inevitably make for growth and permanence. A civilization that has lived for at least five thousand years and has spread over such a large area must have in it qualities which belong to the realm of the spirit. This is predominantly true of Hindu culture, which is of a character at once vast and varied. Of cultural heritage in terms of literature we have three distinct kinds: the earliest and later works in Sanskrit, the Pali books of Buddhist India, and the comparatively modern works in the provincial vernaculars of northern and southern India.

Not long ago Western scholars used to speak deprecatingly of Indian culture. But things have changed. Indologists who have been in Tibet and China speak of rare Sanskrit manuscripts and books in the ancient libraries of those countries, no longer to be found anywhere in India. Ancient India seems to have cared little for what goes by the name of history. Much of what she possessed suffered extinction, due in part to ravages of time and weather, and largely to the cataclysms of periodical racial and religious wars. In the ancient materials still extant we find almost every branch of knowledge represented. Next to the Vedic hymns and Upanishadic discourses come the great epics—the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, the Old Testament of Hinduism, followed by the Puranas, a medley of religious, semi-historical books compiled in the interest of sectarian

propaganda. From among these the *Gita*, the New Testament of Hinduism, stands out like a high beacon light. The world-renowned dramas of Kalidas and Bhavabhuti; the brilliant fairy tales and fables, as, for example, *Hitopadesha* and *Panchatantra*, full of mother wit and insight; the ponderous and abstruse philosophies of the Six Schools; the commentaries and *sutras* of the scholastic period; the Laws of Manu and other allied literature forming the core of Hindu law and jurisprudence; Panini's Grammar, perhaps the most perfect composition of its kind in the world; treatises on mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, and other positive sciences, on astrology, on medicine, round which has grown up the Hindu Ayurvedic system of healing; the much-quoted works of Kautilya and Bana on statecraft and politics, as well as a mass of semi-historical prose romances—all these multitudinous works in Sanskrit, a good deal of which is in verse, reveal the depth and range of Sanskrit lore. When to these are added the achievements in the realms of architecture and sculpture—the Asokan pillars, the Buddhist caves and monasteries, the Jain and many Brahmanical temples scattered all over the country—, painting and music on a much smaller scale, and the colossal literary contributions of Buddhistic and later Hindu writers, we begin to get some idea of the rich and varied cultural heritage of India.

Later on we shall emphasize more specifically the significant contribution of Indian people to religion and philosophy. A review of what has been achieved in things spiritual in India convinces one that the hand of Providence has been on this people and has guided them through all their history in spite of the calamities that have rolled in like tidal waves over their land from time to time. To trace the birth, growth and development of the religious life of India is one of the most pleasant tasks that any student of religion and history can undertake. But before such a task is begun it is always well to cast a glance at some of the outstanding geographical and historical features of the land.

When considered in terms of position and size, Hindustan is more a continent than a country. It has well been called a sub-continent. From earliest times it has been known in the East as a land "flowing with milk and money," and though today it is the poorest country in the world, the climate, the fair distribution of rain and sunshine, and the variety and magnitude of its natural resources are enough to make it, even in these days of highly complex civilization, one of the most self-sufficient countries in the world. It is bounded on the north by the mountain ranges known as the Himalayas, which means the abode of snows. The natural beauty, grandeur and majesty of these great hills are known to all, but

what is not known is that these Himalayas have given to India a moral and spiritual uplift and inspiration which are of abiding worth not only to the Indian people but through them to the wide world. The Hindu seers and sages, *rishis*, *munis*, and *yogis*, have from time immemorial gone to these lofty hills for inspiration and spiritual strength, and have come back from them, like the big rivers that have flowed therefrom, richly laden with blessing and nurture for the millions on the plains. The Himalayas will continue to be the place of India's sacred retreat for contemplation and communion for all time to come. One of the latest of the sages to lift up his eyes to the snow-clad Himalayas and there re-create his soul was the father of Rabindranath Tagore, a man even greater than his son, from whom the poet derived not a little of his inspiration.

As we come down from these hills we find two great river systems: the Indus, which has given its name to the land, and the Ganges. These two, one flowing eastward and the other westward, are like two arms of the mother that the country has been called again and again, spread out to gather the whole peninsula to herself. It is the land lying between the two river systems that has been the cradle of a good deal of the best of Vedic and Buddhist civilization and culture. This portion has been known as Aryavarta, or Hindustan proper. It was here that

some of the best literature belonging to the Vedic, Buddhist and Jain religions was written and the last two had their birth.

Regarding some of the most important historical features of the country which have contributed to its civilization, one thing stands out unique; namely, that practically all the religions and races of the world have lived side by side in this peninsula, in a spirit not only of mutual toleration but of active participation in one another's ideas and ideals. Well has it been said of this country that it has been the exchange-house of the world in the spheres of thought and religion, and it is this which has given to the Hindus a catholicity of mind and heart which is one of their most remarkable characteristics.

But behind all these there was a great spiritual purpose which was slowly molding the thought and character of this race, a purpose which gradually unfolded itself in spiritual experiences in spite of the many political changes and social revolutions passing over the land. To trace this providential development of the spiritual life of the people, however briefly, would be of value, especially to students of religion.

The initial stage in India's religious development is represented today by a series of books known as the Vedas. Scholars are not agreed when or where these books were written. They have been in the

keeping of the Indian branch of the Aryan race ever since the earliest periods of history, and practically all scholars are agreed in recognizing these books, composed of hymns addressed to nature gods, as the oldest record extant of civilized mankind. As such they are of perennial interest to students of psychology and religion. In them we find the child mind of humanity, struck with wonder and awe at the ever changing phenomena of nature, offering its homage of praise and prayer, rising spontaneously from the human heart in a form not found in any other literature. The dawn, the sun, the great waters, fire,—all these evoke the enthusiasm and reverence of mankind. The ancient Indian bards saw divinity in nature. They pierced through the glorious garments of earthly physical manifestations, and even at this early stage found one God above all gods, in all, over all, and through all.

But this was only the first stage. From the poetical the Aryan sage turned to the philosophical, and as a result those great compositions known as the Upanishads were written by the *rishis*. These are books which have since been regarded as constituting much of the spiritual thinking of the Hindus, and are coming to be regarded more and more as parts of the great spiritual classics of the world. The essence of the Upanishads is said to have been put at a later stage into that great religious book known as the

Bhagavad Gita. It is a peculiarity of these Upanishads that we find in them for the first time the doctrine of Atman and Paramatman, soul and over-soul, fully established. Among moderns, the father of the great poet Rabindranath Tagore was saturated with the spirit of these books, and much of the poet's inspiration which has made him famous all over the world came from his father and from these books. All through the ages the greatest thinkers and philosophers of India have drawn their inspiration from the Upanishads, which will always remain a great spiritual treasure not only for the Hindus but for mankind.

Great as was this second stage in spiritual development, India could not stop here. In the sixth century before the Christian era, God raised two men who, in the judgment of India, rank among the greatest men that the world has known. The first of these in time was Mahavira, who, though not the founder of Jainism, was the teacher that gave it perfect form. The other was Gautama Buddha, founder of Buddhism. Owing to the remarkable originality and independence of thought and activity of these two religious leaders, the wonderful strength as well as the tenderness of their characters, and the influence of their lives down through the ages over millions of men of many races, both of them belong not only to India but to the world. They were the first to

preach a universal and missionary religion, and even today, after twenty-five centuries, millions of people live under their influence. Though philosophical differences exist between these two religious systems, there is also much in common between them, and from the cultural point of view they might well be considered together.

Both Jainism and Buddhism started with surrender of the old beliefs in gods and goddesses and even in God himself. Buddhism went to the length of not saying anything definite even about the existence of souls. This meant a radical departure from the old religious beliefs of India; accordingly the latter are rightly considered non-Vedic. On the other hand, so far as their morality and humanity are concerned they are a genuine outgrowth and development of some of the earlier Hindu ideas, and hence do constitute an integral part of the same system of thought and culture. Though the doctrine of *karma* (which is in its essence the moral law of cause and effect) had its beginning earlier, it is early Jainism and Buddhism which gave it proper shape and form and made it current coin, so much so that millions of people today believe in *karma* and mould their lives accordingly. This doctrine may have been misunderstood and even abused (what good thing has not been abused?) but there is no doubt that *karma* is one of the most potent ideas that have gone into the

making of the world's civilization. Also it is these two religions which have emphasized the doctrine and practice of *ahimsa* (non-violence) as it has been emphasized nowhere else. Whereas Buddhism took the middle path as regards the doctrine of *karma*, Jainism carried it almost to its logical conclusions. Gandhi is known all over the world today as the most consistent preacher and practiser of this belief, but what is not known so generally is that he derived this teaching of non-violence from a Jain teacher with whom he came in contact in his younger days, and that there are many among the Jains today who are much more consistent and thoroughgoing than even Gandhi in the practice of this principle of life.

But the moral teaching of these two ancient religious leaders was not merely negative. Both Mahavira and Buddha asked their followers to have compassion, and to build up their characters above all else, and it was these qualities embodied in their own lives that attracted thousands of all ranks to their teaching. Both of these faiths were missionary from the start, and their appeal was to all, high and low, Aryan and non-Aryan equally. They spread over the whole country, and Buddhism, as is well known, in course of time extended eastward to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Korea, Tibet, and Mongolia, and it is said that it reached westward as far as Palestine before the time of Christ. The

Essenes had certainly come under the influence of Buddhist teachings. In India the great Emperor Asoka adopted this faith and made his empire the vehicle of the new teaching of *ahimsa* and compassion.

The period following Buddha and Mahavira, extending over five or six centuries, is one of the noblest chapters in the history of this land, and of humanity as well. From the very first these religions used the vernaculars of the land, and wherever they went vernacular literature grew up. It is true that in the course of time both religions almost came to extinction in India, Buddhism vanishing almost altogether, and Jainism having at the most only about a million and a half adherents. But the spiritual influence of the two teachers, the greatest of the Hindus, has been deep and abiding, and a great deal of the best of Hindu culture owes its existence to them. Outside India in several countries of Asia the influence of Buddhism, through its two schools, Mahayana and Hinayana, is paramount today, and even in the West the name of Gautama Buddha is being increasingly revered as one of the greatest in history, to many second only to that of Christ Jesus.

About a thousand years ago, due to the fact that both Jainism and Buddhism suffered gradual degeneration in belief and practice, due also in part to the absence in their religious systems of any strong belief

in a supreme personal God, the Vedic reaction against them grew in volume and intensity, and found an able exponent in the person of Sankaracharya. His was admittedly one of the greatest minds known in history. It was he who gave to the land that monism known as the Vedanta, which many people in the West mistake in believing to be the chief creed of the Hindus, but which certainly has had a very deep influence on the life and thought of the country. His great merit was that he took the best of Buddhism and Jainism into his teaching and based the whole on the Vedas and Upanishads. His was one of the great synthetic attempts of history, and it must be said to his credit that he succeeded where many others have failed.

At a later time a number of philosophers and theologians arose in India who even refuted Sankara and ultimately gave to the land a definitely theistic philosophy and theology. Nor was this reform merely an advance movement of thought. It was essentially religious and touched the deepest chords of the human heart. The movement is universally known as the *bhakti* movement, and is the best parallel to the Christian religion existing in the world today. *Bhakti* is centered round the belief in the incarnation, and Rama and Krishna are the two principal persons worshiped. It is the *bhakti* system of belief and worship which brought the highest re-

ligion to the lowliest, and united in one common brotherhood people of all classes and creeds. Even the untouchables and the Moslems were not alien to it. It softened the rigors of caste and class, and leavened the mass of Hindu humanity into one whole such as had never been possible before. Almost all over the country during a period extending over three or four centuries, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth, Indian saints arose who can be counted by the dozens and scores. While many of them sang some of the sweetest songs of religious poetry that have ever been sung, others wrote spiritual classics and philosophical treatises. The names of many of these men and women are household words in the whole of Hindustan today, and a number of Christian missionaries have translated some portions of the writings of this period. Tamil saints such as Thiruvalluvar; Mahratta saints like Tukaram, Eknath and Namder; Bengal saints like Sri Chaitanya; north India saints like Tulsidas, Sur Das and Kabir; Punjab saints like Guru Nanak—these are only a few of the outstanding names of those days.

It is not to be understood by this that the *bhakti* movement was of the same character all over the country. It took its color from local surroundings and circumstances. Whilst the movement in the south was more indigenous and homogeneous, in the north it was slightly different, for there Moham-

medanism had established itself as a conquering and proselytizing religion, and the Hindus had to guard themselves against it. This gave rise to that wonderful movement known as Sikhism, a movement which, while it has taken much from the Moslem faith, has nevertheless proved a defensive cover for Hindu culture and nationalism.

The religious development of these past centuries has been carried down to our own times. Even after the British arrived and established their power, and Christianity began its proselytizing work, a number of Hindu religious leaders and new religions arose. Of these more recent movements the principal ones are the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, and the men who have contributed most to the strengthening as well as the expansion of Hindu culture are Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen. Their work has been similar in character to that of Sikhism in the Punjab in Moslem times, and although they began teaching in Bengal, their influence has spread all over the land and is spreading today more rapidly than in their own lifetime. They have been prophets of the new age in India, an age which is sure to lead us to an ever expanding life.

Thus the cultural heritage of the Hindus is not only one of the most ancient but one of the largest and noblest in the world. It is the Aryan, or rather the Indo-Aryan or Hindu culture which has given

birth to three of the greatest religions of the world, Vedism or so-called Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. It has given birth to some of the finest spiritual classics of the world, such as the Upanishads, the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Bhagavata*, the *Dhammapada*. Its epics, such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, have a place in the world's best literature. Its saints can be numbered by hundreds. It has had an unbroken succession of religious teachers for the last three thousand years at least; and during all this period through many crises and cataclysms there has been a slow but none the less sure upward development of the Hindus in thought and life, a development which we believe has been guided by the hand of Providence because God wants this country to exist not only for itself but for all humanity. Surely Hindustan, with its love for the spiritual, its genius for religion, its wide tolerance and catholicity of interest, and its emphasis on *ahimsa* and *bhakti*, has something which, when brought into the kingdom of Christ, will be of abiding value to the whole world.

MANILAL C. PAREKH

Rajkot, Kathiawar

II

NATIONALISM IN INDIA'S LIFE AND THOUGHT

ONE of the shocking discoveries of an Oriental sojourning in the Occident is the alarming extent to which the current opinion of the West covers the negative aspects of Eastern life. To an average American, India, for instance, appears as a big negation; her philosophy as illusion, her religion renunciation, her society caste-bound, her industrial ambition reactionary, and her politics obstructive. Little if any is his knowledge of the creative aspects of oriental national life.

Every vital movement expresses itself in destruction and construction, just as time reveals itself as night and day. Patriotism of the right kind is the spring of progress, but that spring in India has been choked during the last few centuries by the domination of extraneous forces. Besides this, if one would take into consideration the disintegrating influence and devitalizing results of exploitation by alien governments, and the disastrous effects of continued subjection to a foreign yoke on the creative spirit of the people, the harvest that Indian nationalism has

already reaped will appear as no mean achievement. The purpose of the writer, therefore, is to interpret within the scope of an article the creative spirit of the Indian nationalist movement in the hope that it may help the reader to a better understanding of India's struggles and national aspirations.

While the history of Indian nationalism may be traced back to the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885, yet nationalism as an active force did not make itself felt till the partition of Bengal in 1905. Hence it may be said that Indian nationalism as one knows it today covers only the brief period of two decades, an infinitesimally small period in the life of a nation. It was almost over night that peaceful India began to foam furiously with nationalistic spirit, like a calm sea lashed into angry waves by a mighty wind. How can we account for such a sudden upheaval? Let us consider some of the causes of the outburst in order the better to understand its creative aspects.

One must keep in mind, to begin with, that though India has been under British rule for a century and a half, it was not until recently that she was allowed even a feeble representation in the administration of the country. It was only in 1892 that the Councils Act made it possible for India to appoint a few Indians to the Councils, the government taking proper care to restrict the right of debate and even

of asking questions. In spite of general dissatisfaction things went on fairly smoothly until 1905, when the proposal to divide Bengal called forth a fervid protest.

It may be that Lord Curzon honestly thought such division necessary for efficient administration, but to the "misguided" people it seemed an application of the principle of divide and rule. Thanks to Lord Curzon, the division was forced through with dogged obstinacy, and Bengal was split, against the will of the people, giving the Mohammedans a decided majority in what became Eastern Bengal. Is it any wonder that such high-handedness—not an uncommon characteristic of imperialist statesmanship—set Bengal on fire by kindling the whole force of racial feeling and national solidarity, and plunged it, by impairing Indian confidence in the integrity of Great Britain, into what is called sedition? The feverish restlessness engendered by this act first shot up like a sky-rocket in a spectacular boycott of British goods, and then exploded into revolutionary movements. The throbbing life of Bengal animated other parts of India and quickened the evolution of the Indian National Congress into the Moderate and Extremist parties. The brilliant and conspicuous victory of the Japanese over the Russians, and a few other such external events, aided greatly to expedite the rapid spread of nationalism.

In order to meet the growing agitation, in November, 1908, the Morley-Minto reforms were ushered in. Though the Councils were enlarged and Indians were given wider opportunity to express their views and to influence, if possible, the policy of government and its administration, yet the vital element of responsibility was entirely lacking. The ultimate decision in all cases still rested with the government, and the Councils were left with no responsible functions save that of criticism. Hence this period in Indian politics is marked by mere speeches, resolutions, and petitions—a natural resultant of mock reforms. The Indian National Congress, however, forged ahead steadily through the storm, nationalism was driving its tenacious roots deeper, and the feeling in Bengal was still running high. Then Europe set ablaze the World War. Would India remain loyal?

In spite of all her dissatisfaction, not only did India remain loyal to the end of the war but she enthusiastically rallied to help England with men and money. Without an iota of exaggeration one may say that none of the self-governing Dominions can boast of a greater contribution to the defense of the British Empire than was made by India. In men alone India gave one hundred thousand more than the total number of soldiers sent by all the colonies put together. Poverty-stricken though she was, she

gave nearly $500,000,000 as a special contribution to meet the expenses of the war, over and above the many other ways in which she had unstintingly helped. Idealism, in spite of the horrors of war, was running high, and India's legitimate hope was that self-determination might crystallize into Dominion home rule as a reward for her having done more than her share and standing firm by the side of England.

On August 20th, 1917, England made the solemn declaration that her policy in reference to India would be the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. Dealing with the above, the report presented to Parliament in 1918 has it: "We take these words to be the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history. They pledge the British government in clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people. The policy, so far as Western communities are concerned, is an old and tried one. Englishmen believe in responsible government as the best form of government they know; and now, in response to requests from India, they have promised to extend it to India under the conditions set down in the announcement." Indian nationalism pinned its faith on the Wilsonian idealism and the declaration of the Secretary of State for India, set afoot vigorous agita-

tion for home rule, and awaited results in keeping with her legitimate claim. But alas, who could have foretold the tragedy that was to follow? Within three months of the close of the war the mists of idealism had rolled away and India stood face to face with the grim reality of the Rowlatt Act, which made permanently available certain special powers for the internment of Indian citizens.

British imperialism has never been slow in systematically combing the country of "undesirable" agitators. Some of our most independent thinkers, with powers of leadership, courage of conviction and passionate love of their country, are naturally dangerous to imperialism and must be got rid of if the helpless masses are to be exploited. Regulation III of 1818 and the Bengal ordinances have been successfully applied for this purpose. The present Bose tragedy will serve as a good illustration. S. C. Bose, who is a brilliant graduate of Calcutta University, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, an outstanding leader of the Swaraj party and the chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation, was arrested under suspicion and detained in prison for more than two years without trial; his health having seriously broken down, he was released in May, 1927. According to the report of the Legislative Council made in March, 1927 there are in Bengal sixty-eight men in jail as political prisoners without trial. Tilak,

B. C. Pal, Lajpat Rai, C. R. Das, Mahatma Ganghi, and a host of other distinguished leaders and scholars have similarly served a term or more in jail. How can a country ever progress when its promising men can be so easily disposed of by an alien government?

Note that the Rowlatt Act rendered any Indian citizen liable to arrest and confinement at police instance without public trial or legal defense. Is it any wonder that a unanimous India protested with burning indignation? Was India wrong in demanding that proper justification be given if a defensible war-time measure was to become a permanent part of the system of government of the country? The British bureaucracy, however, passed the bill, in opposition to the united expression of the will of the people, without showing any adequate grounds for it, and the country was thrown into a persistent and bitter ferment of agitation.

Following closely on this incident, and less than six months after the armistice, the bloody massacre of Amritsar was perpetrated by the British General Dyer in that very province of the Punjab which had provided England with almost half of the Indian army, though its population is less than eight per cent of that of India. The killing or wounding of fifteen hundred defenseless men, women and children, the forsaking of the dying and the wounded without medical or Red Cross aid, the brutal flogging

and whipping of boys of tender age, the barbarous "crawling orders," the indiscriminate arrests and confiscations and the "fancy punishments" are all too ghastly to narrate. Suffice it to say that it made India wonder if any of the alleged atrocities of the nations in the war could exceed in brutality the Amritsar atrocity committed by the British in the time of peace. The belated and indifferent way in which the British government dealt with this outrage aggravated the feeling. To add fuel to the fire, unprecedented public subscriptions were raised in England to the extent of about $130,000 for General Dyer in appreciation of his heroism—the heroism of slaughtering unarmed and helpless men, women and children—whilst the Punjab government was still haggling over doles to those bereft widows and orphans. The news of this massacre was suppressed by the British, and months elapsed before it was publicly known.

Is it any wonder that this incident of Amritsar led the poet Rabindranath Tagore to renounce the coveted honor of knighthood, Mahatma Gandhi to return all the British medals with which he had been decorated and denounce the British government as satanic, and Indian nationalism to sweep over the length and breadth of India like an infuriated tempest? The treaty terms with Turkey disillusioned the Mohammedans, and for the first time in the

history of India nationalism tended to unite the Hindus and the Mohammedans in a common cause, under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It must also be mentioned that the adoption of measures to exclude Indian immigration by the self-governing Dominions reinforced national feeling. Especially in South Africa measures were adopted to place unjust social and municipal disabilities on Indians already settled in some of the provinces of the Union. The war also helped to raise the question of a new type of constitutional relationship not only between Great Britain and India, but between India and other component parts of the Empire.

Indian nationalism had been agitating for Dominion home rule and had been expecting it as the fulfilment of the solemn declaration of 1917, but when the declaration revealed itself in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, great indeed was the disappointment. India now had a dyarchical government. Such departments as local self-government, education, agriculture, etc., were transferred to Indian ministry, and military, fiscal and foreign policies in which every citizen should have a voice were kept well in hand by the British. While the reforms marked an advance from the standpoint of the British, Indian nationalism refused to be satisfied

with anything less than political and fiscal autonomy, a national militia controlled by the Indian government, and equal treatment of Indian subjects in British colonies.

Repeated humiliations, insults, sore disappointments, forced suppression of national aspirations, were perhaps necessary for the growth and schooling of India in political thought and action. What then has been her achievement so far politically? For over a century India was governed without any representation whatsoever. The first period of national agitation gave her a feeble and carefully muzzled representation; the next period secured for her a larger representation and unfastened the muzzles, but left her without any element of responsibility in the government of the country; the third stage succeeded in obtaining for her a partial responsibility. The present stage finds her vigorously working towards the full control of government. India must be mistress in her own house. Until that goal is reached the spirit of nationalism will not be quieted. Under Gandhi's leadership nationalism has re-created India. The placid contentment of the masses has become a matter of past history. Prior to the World War Bengal was the storm center of Indian nationalism, and so was the Deccan under the leadership of Tilak. But never in Indian history did the whole of

India tremble with new life, like a race horse under control, as she did under the marvelous leadership of the Mahatma.

Only those who were privileged to live in India during those blessed days know how this "pocket edition of a full-grown man" shook the very foundations of the British Empire without a single destructive weapon. Strange as it may seem, the application of the principle of non-violence in politics generated a moral power which dispelled fear, wiped out bombs and assassinations from the field of organized Indian politics, challenged, though unarmed, the unjust authority of the most powerful bureaucracy in the world, and filled the jails with thousands of non-violent patriots. India, under the Mahatma's leadership, went through the purifying fire and can never be what she was before the cleansing; she has come out radiating confidence and devotion to humanity.

The masses have been stirred to political thinking as never before. The use of *khaddar* (coarse home-spun cloth) has introduced a new bond between the rich and the poor, thus helping to bring about a united political tenet that the fate of India must henceforth be determined by Indians and not by aliens. A glance at the number enrolled each year by the Indian National Congress shows how rapidly a wide interest in politics has grown. At the first session of the Indian National Congress in 1885 there

were present only seventy-two men, mostly lawyers, schoolmasters and newspaper men. Twenty years later there were 756 present, and now over 10,000 men and women attend from all parts of India, representing all classes, castes and creeds.

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Some Western observers remark that Indian nationalism is nothing but a religious revival, and they are right. The distinction between the secular and the religious does not really exist in India. The practical aspect of the religious is the secular, and the theoretical aspect of the secular is the religious; anything that affects one must needs affect the other. Hinduism itself is less a dogmatic religion than a way of life; hence it is capable of the utmost elasticity of doctrine, though extremely rigid in its customs. The vivid impression that Hinduism leaves, therefore, is the strength of its social sanctions. This rigid social orthodoxy has resulted in a formalistic conception of society, which, being opposed to all change, greatly hinders progress. Any change in social sanctions must of necessity be a reform in Hinduism, hence naturally Indian nationalism appears as a religious renaissance.

Creative nationalism, being keenly aware of the obstruction of much in religion to the flow of progressive life, has consequently revitalized such or-

ganizations as the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, etc., and has focused the creative energies of these movements on intensive efforts to sweep away degrading customs and conceptions and tyrannizing traditions and superstitions out of religion. While these internal evils obstructed India's progress, there were also alien religious influences which were denationalizing India. The proselytizing religions, Islam and Christianity, were drawing their converts mostly from the depressed classes to whom Hinduism had held forth no hope. But now at last nationalized Hinduism has started out to meet this situation. The Arya Samaj, for instance, which may well be called the Hindu Protestant movement, has been vigorously active not only converting those of other religious faiths but reconverting those who had left Hinduism. Hindu orthodoxy is giving way and is making room for the expansion of Hinduism. At first nationalism in religion expressed itself as an ardent desire to protect and preserve the national religion, but since the World War revealed the spiritual bankruptcy of Christendom, this spirit in religion has begun to challenge the assumed superiority of Christianity over non-Christian faiths.

These reform organizations have generously adopted Western methods to achieve their ends. They also carry on very full programs of social service. Space does not permit description of the numer-

ous organizations which have come into existence to carry out the most important but difficult task of religious reform. No one, however, should delude himself into thinking that the existence of so many religious reform organizations is a sign that Hinduism is now facing her last days. These organizations are in existence only to loosen her rigidity, and, as she expands, all these will either be absorbed or cease to exist. Such power of absorption is part of the genius of Hinduism. The real regeneration of India must come primarily by change within Hinduism itself, rather than through reform movements from without.

No one will deny that the spirit of nationalism in religion has brought about an increased communal consciousness. The tension between the Hindus and the Mohammedans has certainly been exaggerated in the West by interested parties. It may be worth while to point out that the whole of India contains 722,495 villages and towns. Out of these, 183,686 villages and towns covering more than one-third of the total area of India are under Hindu, Mohammedan and Sikh rulers of native states. Though about one-fourth of the total population live in these Indian states, Hindu-Moslem riots are comparatively rare. Even in British India we find that out of 538,809 villages and towns, Hindu-Moslem riots on an average occur in not more than sixty towns and villages

a year. Small as this number is, one wishes that even these could be eliminated. But can it be said that in any other area in the world equal in extent and population to that of India the number of fights and disturbances is less? Hindus and Moslems are not any more given to fighting than other irreconcilable religious groups, Protestants and Catholics not excluded. When the strength of the alien government depends on the disunion of the people, is it reasonable to expect it to encourage Hindu-Moslem amity? The difficulty, therefore, has to be solved by the people alone. It is a matter for thankfulness that communalism is nothing more than mass stupidity and fanaticism exploited by unprincipled men for selfish purposes. Now that communal strife has come to the surface in all its ugliness, the genius of India finds in it its greatest challenge.

Like any constructive work, the solution of these mighty problems will take time. But it is not difficult to see that creative nationalism is leading India to the ideals of religious tolerance, appreciation, and inclusiveness, and of renunciation of self in the service of humanity. It is breaking down orthodoxy, dispelling superstition, loosening social rigidity, and substituting activity for passivity. As a result, Hinduism will emerge with a fresh spiritual and ethical outlook to meet new demands and new conditions.

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Indian nationalism shows itself full of hope and promise when one considers the significant place given today to social service and reform. In fact, in the last two decades in the history of Indian nationalism, social reform has occupied the important place in the second decade that political agitation occupied in the first. This is an indication of how keenly alive the national leaders are to the rôle of social reform in national regeneration. Tagore, for instance, though known to the Western world only as a poet, has made an inestimable contribution to social reconstruction through word and deed. To him social reform is the true way to India's freedom. The abundant efforts of Mahatma Gandhi to wipe out untouchability, the drink habit, the curse of child marriage, and the abomination of the caste system as it exists today, are all too well known to need comment.

The Brahmo Samaj, founded by Ram Mohan Roy on the highest ideals of Christianity and Hinduism, and the Prathana Samaj of Bombay were the first non-Christian organizations to pay any attention to the depressed classes. As creative nationalism felt the need of unifying the nation and preventing the disintegration of the Indian community by the proselytization of the depressed classes, it began to

devise ways and means of transforming these fifty millions and bringing them into the national fold. To achieve this end the first Depressed Classes Mission Society was founded in Bombay in 1906. Today such work is undertaken also by the Arya Samaj, the Vedic Mission, the Ramakrishna Mission and others. Numerous smaller organizations are found scattered all over India whose object is to elevate the moral and social status of the people. The missions run day and night schools, boarding-houses for homeless laborers, industrial schools, free libraries, cooperative credit societies, etc., for the benefit of the helpless poor. The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes of Bengal and Assam alone, according to last year's report, conducts 406 schools in 20 districts with an enrolment of 16,274 boys and girls. Mahatma Gandhi's love for the downtrodden, his identification of himself with them in his simple living, his ceaseless effort to uplift them, and the adoption into his family of an untouchable girl, have all inspired young men to a keen sense of duty and responsibility to those same classes. Social service has become so much an integral part of Indian life that it is unusual to find any Indian college that has not its night schools for the depressed classes and its band of volunteers to serve in times of calamity or distress.

One of the most interesting developments in

social service is the work for bettering the condition of women. Social corruption has greatly lowered the status of women and has subjected them to innumerable evils. Under the creative impulse of nationalism many institutions are working to promote their welfare. Homes like the Seva Sadhan of Bombay have been founded in many cities and towns to teach widows and helpless women cottage industries, nursing, sewing, etc., and also to train capable women for teaching and social service. One finds as many as a thousand women in some homes finding protection and occupation. Social reform associations and conferences have been organized with the object of promoting women's education by increasing the number of schools for girls in towns and villages, dissuading parents from giving their daughters in marriage under the age of sixteen, abolishing the purdah system, increasing homes for women, and providing technical education.

The task of Indian women's emancipation has not been left entirely in the hands of men. There are numerous women's organizations and societies which are working for the uplift of their less fortunate sisters. Indian men have been only too glad to have women take their rightful place in Indian national life. Among the provinces which have enfranchised women, the Madras Legislative Council is the first to have a woman member. Not only that, it has

elected her deputy president of the legislature. Indian women are now on district boards, municipal corporations, legislative councils, and the senates of universities. This year there are five women on the Madras University senate. Recently India went even further and elected Mrs. Sarojini Naidu as president of the Indian National Congress of 1925. No country in Europe or America has yet conferred a similar honor on one of its women. While proud of what has been done so far, India is still painfully conscious of the long way she has to travel in the uplift of her women.

Under the urge of nationalism, India is moving more rapidly in all forms of social reform than the government would sometimes like to see. Rev. W. E. S. Holland, an English missionary, writes of the present situation in India: "Today responsible Indian opinion is ahead of the government in its demand for primary education and for the prohibition of early marriage. It is the government which, on the plea of discretion, applies the brake. The records of the last session of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi are significant. A resolution was passed by a large majority in the teeth of official opposition, asking the government to accept as its ultimate policy the total prohibition of the manufacture, import and sale of alcoholic liquors except for medicinal and scientific purposes." Last year some of the public health

officers and their staff in the Madras Presidency asked their official head whether, as a part of their duty, they should and could speak and write against the evils and dangers of the drink habit. The reply given was, "The government considers that the public health staff should not carry on anti-drink propaganda." There is a tremendous amount of work yet to be done in social reconstruction, and India is thankful for the cooperation of all foreign agencies which are helping her to break the fetters that bind her to social degradation. In particular, India thankfully acknowledges the service rendered by Christian missions in this pressing work of uplift and reconstruction. Creative nationalism is determined that caste (which has almost disappeared in Bengal), the subjection of women, child marriage, and untouchability must go. It is an ambitious program, but India is steadily pressing forward towards her goal.

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It is not known to many that India is one of the very few countries in the world which are still almost purely agricultural. Modern organized industry has hardly affected as many as one per cent of India's teeming millions. Even today over eighty per cent of the population live on the soil. To many the British failure in India has been due in part to the blind attempt to introduce the urban civilization of

the West without seriously taking into account India's rural civilization and culture. Indian civilization made each village self-sufficient and maintained the system of exchange in kind, hence the so-called economic problem was absent in former days. But the introduction of industrialism, its city civilization, its competitive methods, and the exportation of agricultural raw produce in enormous quantities, even ignoring the pressing home demands and the fixing of prices in most cases in London and other places outside of India, created the economic problem that exists today. How to bring about an economic development of India which will withstand the penetration of Western capitalism with its virulent evils is the greatest problem challenging creative nationalism. India is seeking not for some temporary relief but for a permanent solution.

One of the most misunderstood aspects of Indian nationalism is the turning away from Western capitalistic industrialism; it appears to the West as putting back the hands of the clock of progress. But nothing that is grafted on, be it industrialism or education, can present a healthy growth unless it is assimilated and reproduced according to the national genius of the people. Industrialism in India must be a normal outgrowth of its national evolution. Capitalism of the West is the logical outcome of Western genius, and is founded on the ideals of

power in politics, of pleasure in material comfort, and of profits in business. Wealth is the pivot of Western industrialism; for the sake of gold, human interests are ever being subordinated and sacrificed. This feverish craving for wealth has brought into being the machine for large-scale production—not for the use of all, but for the profit of a few; and the result is overproduction, unwholesome and forced consumption, and unscrupulous competition for foreign markets.

Industrialism in India prior to the period of Western influence was largely predetermined by India's natural resources and her religious ideals. Today creative nationalism is attempting to make industrialism a normal and natural evolution of Indian life. India's genius is more suited to a simple than to a complex life. Her thought, character and habits are better adapted to handicraft than to machine grind, to cottage industries than to factories, even though to depend on the spinning-wheel and hand-loom in days of machinery and mass production cannot but appear to superficial thinkers as committing economic suicide, or at least as crippling India's power to compete successfully with the West in the race for wealth.

In India neither politics nor economics has ever been divorced from ethics or religion. It was to a large extent the result of India's social and religious ideals that the cottage industries flourished and com-

manded the markets of the world in early days. Their decay was due to their suppression in favor of British commercial interests, to the competition of cheaper manufactured goods from foreign countries as a result of free trade, and to the consequent cultivation and development of foreign tastes. In order to counteract these forces, such powerful movements as the Swadeshi movement (the boycott of foreign goods), the *khaddar* movement, etc., came into being. And today the spirit of Swadeshism has swept over India like a mighty tempest, so that anyone who exhibits a taste for foreign-made goods wears an apologetic look.

Few other countries have been hit quite so hard by the national selfishness and greed of a foreign nation as India. There are over 250,000,000 people living on agriculture, but agriculture in itself is not sufficient to yield a real livelihood, and subsidiary cottage industries must help to supplement the family income. Cotton is not only the universal need and a natural product of the soil, but it is the only cottage industry available to most of the people. In 1920-21 India purchased nearly $510,000,000 worth of foreign cotton goods, every yard of which Mahatma Gandhi maintains might have been made in India. One can easily see that if protection was ever necessary it could never have been more necessary than in this case. But our British benefactors imposed an

excise duty on all Indian cotton goods, in order to enable the Lancashire merchants to undersell the Indian manufacturer, thus hopelessly crushing an essential industry and reducing millions of our agriculturists to poverty and starvation. It was not until Mahatma Gandhi shook the faith of the British in the use of force to support this injustice against all odds that they were willing to consider the abolition of the excise duty. After repeated agitation it was finally abolished a year ago.

Less than two years ago Sir William Joynson-Hicks, British Home Secretary, cast aside the usual cloak of the philanthropy of imperialism, and declared: "We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword and by the sword we should hold it." Would that we had more statesmen with courage to speak out the unvarnished truth! By such persistent policy Great Britain has made India a source of raw material for her factories, and a market for her finished products and the investment of her surplus wealth. In a single year India absorbs British goods to the value of nearly $450,000,000. Only those who know how, from the days of the East India Company onward, the industrial and commer-

cial interests of India have been systematically sacrificed to those of Great Britain, and how such greed and selfishness have repeatedly crushed many of India's industries, can fully realize the economic meaning and significance of India's creative nationalism.

One may now see the purpose of Mahatma Gandhi's spinning-wheel movement. It points to the importance of bringing about an industrial continuity in India's national evolution, and to the need of reviving cottage industries as one of the first means for the emancipation of the masses from their present economic serfdom. But that is not all. Without adopting wholesale the industrialism of the West and without leaving the Indian artisan to struggle in splendid isolation, creative nationalism is now seeking a middle course. Admitting the necessity of large-scale production in industries like glass, paper, etc., it nevertheless lays greater emphasis on cottage industries and small-scale production. The latter is also better suited to the limited capital of the majority, and to the economic well-being of the cultivators, who for several months in the year are free to engage in home industries. The spirit of industry is indigenous to India, though it has been greatly crushed by foreign interests; as craftsmen, the people have had great reputation both for skill and artistic design. In this women played and still play

an important part. Many of the famous Dacca muslin weavers were women. Even in silk cocoon-rearing Indian women exhibit great skill. One can see the human value and importance of reviving India's small industries.

Agriculture being the key industry of India, its improvement must be the basis of rural reconstruction. How then to make agriculture self-sustaining; how to educate the peasant in modern agricultural ideas and ideals, and how to supply the necessary equipment to achieve this end—these are the problems which creative nationalism faces in this field. The most useful and productive movement which has come into existence, and which has already injected new life and vigor in the rural population, is the movement of cooperative credit societies, with their ideals of self-help and mutual assistance. Introduced by the government, this movement has been greatly utilized by national organizations, and within the last decade has made striking progress. There are about 75,000 societies scattered over India, representing a working capital of about two hundred million dollars. The work of the cooperative societies does not end with the lending of money or with the removal of indebtedness. It branches out into numerous activities directed toward the improvement of the general conditions of life of the rural population. In the Punjab, for instance, where

it is a signal success, the cooperative movement includes thrift societies, societies for compulsory education, for the supply of agricultural implements and household necessaries, silt clearance societies, cattle-breeding societies, cooperative sale shops, etc. Many and varied indeed are the activities of this movement. In Bombay a noteworthy feature is application to the problem of industrial production. There are about seventy-five weaving cooperative societies with a membership of about 3,500 weavers. The indigenous weaving industry is second in importance only to agriculture, and one can easily see that the application of the cooperative movement to weaving, with its advantageous buying of raw materials and sale of finished products, bids fair to play a large part in the economic uplift of the masses.

The steel and textile industries are of greatest importance to India. Started originally through private Indian initiative, their growth has been greatly advanced by the spirit of nationalism. In recent years there has been vigorous agitation for protection of these mill industries. In discussing the report of the tariff board, Gandhi writes in *Young India* of June 23, 1927: "This question of protection for the mill industry against Lancashire and other foreign competition is a question of life and death for India, as it is supposedly one of life and death

also for Lancashire. To realize the truth of this statement one has merely to look at the table of imports. Imports from Lancashire are by far the largest of all the other imports, nearly half of all British imports. Lancashire has risen on the ashes of India's greatest cottage industry and is sustained by the exploitation of the helpless millions of this land. The indigenous mill industry is really regarded as an interloper, and if it could be decently squashed in the interest of Lancashire, it would be without ceremony. The stupendous interest of Lancashire is allowed to override every moral consideration. . . . The mill-owners of India will never be able to vindicate their position in the face of this almost insurmountable obstacle unless they courageously make common cause with the people and force protection from the government." While before the war the cotton mill industry was unable to meet even one-third of the demand, it has made progress enough within a decade to be able to meet more than half of India's requirements. In spite of the government's contrary interest, cottage and mill industries have received, under the sway of nationalism, a great impetus; agriculture is receiving special attention; dairy farming, poultry raising, cattle breeding, fodder crop cultivation, etc., are being started under the guidance of experts.

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No less interesting than any of the above is the influence of creative nationalism in the field of education. Western education in India has been attacked frequently and vehemently by Indian nationalists. The attack took a dramatic form in the boycott of government schools and colleges during Mahatma Gandhi's leadership. The West has not fully understood the why and wherefore of this attack. Its burden is not that Western learning is useless for the people of India, but that under the existing system foreign education almost wholly overshadows education of the Indian student in his own culture, is unrelated to the life of the people, displaces the vernacular, denationalizes the Indian student, and renders him uncreative. Furthermore, "for India to force herself along European lines," as Tagore says, "would not make her Europe but only a distorted India."

With its characteristic critical attitude, Indian nationalism set to work to find out the defects in education and to devise ways and means to remedy them. One of the outstanding drawbacks of the system introduced by the British is that it has created a class so wholly divorced in outlook from the vast mass of the people that it is really without precedent in any country. Creative nationalism realized that the

educated and the uneducated classes might be welded together to some degree by the study of national literature and vernaculars. The famous institution known as the Gurukula Mahavidyalaya at Hardwar came into being under the auspices of the Arya Samaj, whose educational activities are well known, to meet this need and to spread moral and spiritual knowledge through the required study of classical Sanskrit. This does not mean that the Hardwar institution has nothing to do with Western culture. It encourages a sound acquaintance with English literature and a knowledge of the physical and applied sciences. An attempt is being made here to blend the Vedic culture with the Western. The pupil enters when he is eight years of age and is expected to remain in the institution until the expiration of the seventeen-year course.

The highest ideals of Indian civilization, "the ideals of simplicity of life, clarity of spiritual vision, purity of heart, harmony with the universe, and consciousness of the infinite personality in all creation," arose in the ancient forest sanctuaries. Western education in India has totally neglected these ideals, thinking only of benches and blackboards, rules and red tape. In reacting to this Western trend, creative nationalism ushered in the Shantiniketan school at Bolpur under the inspiration and guidance of our beloved poet, Rabindranath Tagore. While religion

is the background of everything at Shantiniketan, yet idols and sects, castes and creeds, are conspicuously absent. Shantiniketan, therefore, provides an atmosphere in which children may grow up free from old prejudices and intolerance. The open air, the breadth of religious outlook, the close relationship between the teacher and the pupil—the great gifts of ancient Indian education—have been brought back in Shantiniketan. Another interesting feature of the school is that it is organized as a self-governing republic in order to develop in the pupils will-power, self-reliance, and independence of character.

Tagore emphasizes the ideal of renunciation in service. The boys run night schools in the neighboring villages for laborers and the lower castes, and take part in various other forms of social service. Nor is this all. "With the realization of the ancient wealth of our own culture," says Tagore, "comes our responsibility to offer to share it with the rest of the world." Hence Visvabharati, the international university, the only one of its kind in the world, was founded on a basis not of nationalism but of a wider relationship of humanity. Many world-renowned scholars, such as Professor Sylvian Levi, Mr. Benoit, Dr. Stella Kramrisch and others, have already enjoyed its hospitality. In Tagore's institution there is a decided attempt to synthesize Eastern and Western cultures, and to give that type of education which

will develop loyalty not to a geographical territory but to humanity. This is a distinct departure from the forms of education common in the West.

The British government has always contended that there was not enough money for popular education. An American authority has shown, on the basis of figures taken from the Indian education report for 1924-25, that the Indian government spends less than ten cents per capita per annum for all grades and sorts of education, as against $16.25 spent by the United States for public school education alone. How much can be done by a nation which is determined to educate her people has been proved by Japan. In 1872 Japan had only twenty-eight per cent of her children going to school; within two decades the percentage was about ninety. In India, on the other hand, after a century and a half of British rule we can boast only of ten per cent literacy. Education has been doled out by miserly hands, and the education of girls has been especially neglected. There are various kinds of organizations today working independently of the government to provide facilities for women's education.

While national education for women emphasizes a combination of Western and Eastern cultures, it must be said that it does not believe that women's education can be the same as men's. Women have been ordained by nature to perform a distinctive and

responsible function in society and for humanity. India believes in giving women every encouragement to learn the arts and sciences which have hitherto been the monopoly of men, and to enter as far as possible their many walks of life, but it does not want their own God-given powers and privileges to be overlooked. New systems of education on this basis are developing in many parts, and Indian women themselves are protesting against being given man-made education. They want to be educated to meet their special needs and requirements. Women's societies, such as the Nari Shikha Samti, of which there are over a hundred in Bengal, are very active in organizing primary education for girls in villages, and in training women teachers.

There are a number of national schools and colleges for girls and young women, some of which are coeducational. An interesting development is the Women's University in Poona. Indian young women are now studying law, medicine, arts and pedagogy. There is also an increasing demand that women should be given special training in the fields of social and political sciences, and of social ethics, civics and child welfare, in order to equip them for more efficient work in the service of their less fortunate sisters. Many women have already earned merit in the fields of politics, literature, law, medicine, teaching and social service.

Another unique contribution of nationalism is found in the revival of Indian art. Like other phases of Indian life, art has suffered deterioration through foreign domination. Dr. A. Cumaraswamy, art critic, wrote some time ago: "There is no more depressing aspect of present-day conditions than the universal decline of taste in India, from the rajah, whose palace, built by the London upholsterer in imitation of some European building, is furnished with vulgar superfluity and uncomfortable grandeur, to the peasant clothed in Manchester cottons of appalling hue and meaningless design." Western criticism of Indian art, based on an assumption of superiority rather than on an understanding of Eastern motif and method, failed to be constructive. Dr. Cumaraswamy has rendered invaluable service in repudiating such criticism and upholding the traditional art standards of India. A gallery of Indian painting and a college of Indian music have recently been started in Lucknow. The Indian Society of Oriental Art has been founded in Calcutta for the promotion of all branches of ancient and modern art.

Thus creative nationalism has been working for the regeneration of India. In politics it is seeking self-determination; in religion it is seeking a purification which would eliminate superstition and orthodoxy and instil ideals of tolerance and in-

clusion; in education it is striving to relate the best of Western culture to Eastern ideals; in industry it is searching for a middle method between the isolated artisan and the massive machine; in national life it is working for the emancipation of women, the uplift and absorption of the depressed classes, and the physical development of the race.

Political nationalism in India is but a passing phase. All through her history India has been struggling to realize the principle of unity. Her greatest contribution will be in working out that vital principle in the solution of the most crucial problem of the day—the relation between the civilization of the Occident and the traditional culture of the Orient. By reason of her age, racial origins, geographical position, continuity of culture and tradition, and intimate contact with the West, India is fitted to work towards this solution, which is certain to result in a richer and more universal man. Through the educational ideals and songs of Tagore, the art of Abanindranath, the science of Bose, and the burning social and religious messages of Gandhi, creative nationalism is leading India to the great vision of the "one in many" beheld by the sages of the forest schools of ancient India. This long-cherished ideal finds a modern expression in Gandhi's message to the India of today that "patriotism is the same as humanity." It is the realization of this conception

which will lead us from the curse of political nationalism toward the more fraternal internationalism, transcending all differences of race, creed and color. The final goal of creative nationalism is the realization of this unity in diversity.

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III

PRESENT TENDENCIES IN INDIAN RELIGIONS

IN the development of Hinduism in India two factors of prime importance, one internal and the other external, are discernible. The inner impulse to introspection is congenial to Hindu religious genius. We owe to introspection the notable spiritual discoveries characteristic of Hinduism. The discovery of transmigration and rebirth, the basic note in all Indian religions, was the first achievement of observation and reflection. The seers of the Upanishads realized the indwelling of God in men and embodied this experience of capital importance in their famous text. Later the grand analysis of the world order, as dominated by law, or *karma*, was announced and became momentous in religious speculation.

When the fires of introspection burned dim and a crucial idea was worked out thoroughly and became barren, Hindu religion was saved from sterility by the energizing influences of alien faiths that had appeared in India. It is difficult to trace these influences on early Hinduism for want of historical

data, though we may be certain that such influences did exist. Fortunately we walk in clearer light when we come to the two crises in Hinduism brought about by Mohammedanism and by Christianity.

These two religions, Islam and Christianity, viewed historically as the development of Judaism have certain features of affinity as well as marked divergences. Both are Semitic religions with a religious outlook sharply contrasted, and on many essential issues both are diametrically opposed to Hinduism. They both entered India as the religion of a conqueror, were associated with the peculiar culture and civilization of the foreign invader, and were pressed on the attention of the people by a race conscious of superiority and contemptuous of others. It is no doubt true that the environment, religious and social, in which these common factors functioned was different in each case. The association of Christianity with the British rulers is not nearly so intimate as the association of Islam with Mohammedan rulers. Nor was Christianity pressed on the Hindu mind with anything like the aggressive contempt with which Islam was spread by Mohammedan invaders. Moreover, modern culture, mainly through the power of the press and literature, enters far more deeply into the mental life of the Hindu than Saracenic culture ever did. Lastly there is the new factor, not hitherto present, toning down the

influence of other factors,—the operation of world life on the Indian.

To the extent that Islam and Christianity partake of common characteristics, it is natural to expect that the reaction of Hinduism to these religions should more or less follow the same lines. For this if for no other reason, a study of the interaction of Islam and Hinduism forms a fitting introduction to the study of the present tendencies in Hinduism, these tendencies being almost exclusively occasioned by the direct and indirect influence of Christianity.

The earliest reaction of Hinduism to Islam in the political context of the Mohammedan invasion could hardly have been otherwise than one of hostility. The conqueror obscured the missionary in the invader. Hinduism withdrew within itself and erected barricades which effectively cut off all communication between the races. Orthodoxy invented every means which self-defense could dictate or wounded self-respect could suggest to insulate Hinduism from foreign influence. The name of Islam was treated as symbolic of all that is humiliating to self-respect and fatal to the spiritual life of the Hindu. Caste and custom were reinforced and exalted as the defensive armor of Hinduism. But as soon as it became evident that the invader intended to settle in the country, it was realized that social and religious intercourse could not altogether be prevented. En-

trenchment, the possible expedient for a temporary situation, could no longer serve; active retaliation was the only means to ward off the blows of a permanent opponent. Then was inaugurated a warfare of creeds in which Hindus and Mohammedans ranged themselves against each other as contending armies on a battlefield. Spiritual sympathy and friendliness were out of the question. Each side carried away the followers of their opponents' faith and exhibited them as trophies of war. The fortunes of this religious warfare leaned heavily in favor of the Mohammedans, as extensive communities of Hindu converts to Islam in all parts of India testify. However, these victories, if they display the strength of Islam, reveal its limitations also. For to insist that transplantation from one community into another is essential to conversion is to confess that Islamic influence could not operate successfully on the Hindu in his social habitat.

This state of things could not continue indefinitely. Two great faiths could not abide side by side without influencing each other spiritually. The attitude of hostility and indifference gave place in the nobler minds to a sympathetic study each of the other's faith. A new chapter in the relation of Islam and Hinduism began with the growth of the atmosphere of friendliness. While propagandists still sought after numerical gains, finer minds measured in-

fluence by the subtler tests of mutual understanding and appeal. Hinduism signalized the new era by making a remarkable contribution to Islam in the shape of a metaphysical and practical mysticism known as Sufiism. The giver received the blessing back twofold, centuries later. For we find in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a group of Hindu reformers and reform movements which indicate the spiritual influence of Islam on Hinduism. It is characteristic of higher Hindu religious thought to believe that truth is inexhaustible, illimitable and unconfinable. This conviction, ingrained in the very constitution of Hinduism, operates in a twofold manner. It instils in the Hindu mind a chastened mood of humility fatal to self-complacency. The existence of another religion which ministered to the spiritual well-being of millions and made for profound discipline of life was a challenge to the Hindu to examine the foundations of his own faith. If truth is larger than any system, and divinity so much more than dogma, the Hindu argued, should we not gather and garnish the truth from other religions also?

This mood, born of negative and positive thought processes, finds expression either in eclecticism or an attempt to reconstruct Hinduism on broader foundations. Kabir and Nanak are essentially prophets of reconciliation. Their teachings bring out in relief regions in Hinduism and Islam that respond to each

other. Kabir found in Hinduism that warm emotion called *bhakti* to clothe an austere monotheism. Nanak, starting from the heritage of Hinduism, found in Islam that simplicity of doctrine, that center of inspiring monotheism, around which Hinduism can concentrate itself for strenuous action. If on one side Kabir was drawn to Hinduism, it may be said with equal truth that in him Hinduism was drawn to Islam. The same was the case with Nanak. While he made towards Islam he at the same time powerfully drew Islam towards Hinduism as well. A prominent feature of their preaching was the new social emphasis, born of the contact with Islam, which repudiates caste and in its place exalts the brotherhood of man, or at least the brotherhood of the faithful. Even where caste exists among the followers of the allied sects of their day, it does so shorn of all its potency for evil in an atmosphere of love.

As a matter of fact, the influence of Islam did not exhaust itself in creating protestant movements within Hinduism. In its widest outreach it reorganized Hinduism around the two great avatars, Rama and Krishna. This division, effected under the imperceptible influence of Islam, runs through Hinduism from the north to the south of India. It is a new alignment which reveals the deepest effect of Islam on Hinduism. For Rama and Krishna, of these cults,

are not two out of countless numbers of gods in Hinduism, not even two of the most important of avatars. They cease to be even purely historical figures. They are not avatars but *avataris*, that which expresses itself in avatars, the eternal aspects of Godhead. What Jesus is to Christ in Christian theology, historic Rama and Krishna are to eternal Rama and Krishna. In fact they are the highest symbols of the new Hindu monotheism, born of the confluence of Hinduism and Islam. The faith in Sri Krishna (no longer a tribal god but the very expression of the supreme God) yoked to the perennial fount of *bhakti* reaches frenzied heights in Chaitanya. In him the pent-up devotion of the *bhakta* leaps into a consuming blaze, sweeping aside all barriers, and exalts Krishna as a name above all names. In Chaitanya we have the farthest reach of Islamic influence, an influence which first sinks deep into the soul of Hinduism and emerges from the very depths as its own inner vital life.

A recent development in Islam, revealing the joint influence of Hinduism and Christianity, is the Ahmadiya movement, founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, born in Punjab in 1839. Ahmad set himself up as the promised Messiah who is at once the fulfilment of Christianity, Hinduism and Islam. The dominant note of this movement, which has obtained considerable following among the educated

Mohammedan community, is its tolerant and friendly attitude towards Christianity and Hinduism. Its missionary zeal is attested by the work it is carrying on not only in India but also at Woking in Surrey, England, and by the exemplary fortitude with which its followers have faced persecution at the hands of the fanatical sects of Mohammedans.

As has already been stated, to the extent that Christianity and Islam resemble each other in their moral and spiritual nature and the historical circumstances of their entry into India, the reaction of Hinduism to Christianity may follow the general outline already indicated. The Semitic elements of Christianity will present to the Hindu philosophic and moral difficulties not easily surmounted by a mind accustomed to think in different thought-forms and categories. As the faith of the conqueror it provokes hostility and prejudice. Christianity, however, though historically connected with Judaism is in spirit and outlook essentially different from it, and Christ, though a Jew, stands in history as the Savior of man, transcending all the narrow limitations of race and nationality. The universal elements in the person and teaching of Christ possess a fascination not present in Islam. The ferment of modern thought, the challenge of the world life, and the life-and-death struggle for political freedom have elevated the Indian above the influence of custom and

tradition, and have set him on a search for a new spiritual power, from whatever quarter it may come, whether from within Hinduism or from without.

The history of neo-Hinduism (a compendious term for recent tendencies in Hinduism) begins with the Brahmo Samaj. It is doubtless true that a Christian community tracing its origin to the ministry of St. Thomas, one of the disciples of our Lord, existed in south India. Of its influence on Hinduism it is not possible to speak with any degree of certainty. There are critics of eminence who believe that southern Vaishnavism was influenced by the presence of the Christian church. What measure of truth this conjecture contains is the task of further criticism and research to elucidate. It is, however, interesting to notice that of the two branches of Hinduism, Saivism and Vaishnavism, the latter has shown greater readiness to benefit by alien faiths in India. It is Vaishnavism that reacted readily to Islam. Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen (founders of the Brahmo Samaj, the first visible response of Hinduism to Christianity) and Mahatma Gandhi, all either belong to families professing Vaishnavism or have adopted it as their faith. In order to see the neo-Hindu movements in their true perspective one capital fact should be borne in mind.

Christ comes to India deeply interwoven in the fabric of Western civilization. Christ and Western

civilization, clearly distinguishable in their natures and frequently fundamentally and radically opposed to each other, are cemented together by history and brought to India as a united indivisible whole. The reactions of Hinduism to Christianity are conditioned by this central fact. This becomes clear when we study these movements in their advancing and their receding tendencies, as well as in their final stable balance. The Brahmo Samaj is, on the whole, the movement of Hinduism towards an ideal Christian civilization. But a closer scrutiny discloses in the general advancing tide reactionary currents towards Hinduism. The Adi Samaj, founded by Ram Mohan Roy, was drawn alike to Christ and Western civilization, and sought to reconstruct Hinduism under the new influences. The Sadharana Samaj represents the receding impulse from both. But the influence is still there, protestant and reforming. Thus we find Maharishi Debendranath Tagore, father of the poet Rabindranath, rejecting the authority of the Vedas and trying to lead Hinduism back to the purer and more catholic days of the Upanishads. In Keshub Chunder Sen, the leader of the New Dispensation, we see the highest reach of the forward movement, which touches the very feet of Jesus in adoration and worship. Though Keshub Chunder Sen in his later days discerned the antagonism between Christ and Western civilization, the New Dispensation as

a movement never made any such clear distinction.

As the Brahmo Samaj represents the forward movement of Hinduism towards an ideal Christian civilization, so the Arya Samaj represents the receding wave. This movement divided itself into two sections, one favorably disposed to modern culture and the other remaining hostile to it. These two sections are typified by two institutions, Dayanand Saraswati College and the Gurukula, one under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai and the other under Hans Raj. These two movements illustrate the striking tendency of neo-Hinduism to make an historical regression towards some stage in the evolution of Hinduism in the past, such a stage being regarded as the ideal. The Brahmo Samaj goes back to the Upanishads, and the Arya Samaj to the Vedas.

But it has been realized that Christ and Western civilization are not of one piece. The incompatibility of these two factors was perceived as much in India as in other parts of the world. With the disentanglement of Christ from Western civilization, Hinduism was faced with the new problem of choosing between them. Various movements illustrate this complicating factor in the religious life of India. Rabindranath Tagore stands at the head of a movement which accepts Western culture as a thing to be reckoned with, without committing itself to any definite attitude toward Christ. The desire for syn-

thesis makes its urge felt, but the synthesis is felt in cultures rather than in religions. Visvabharati is the living symbol of the poetic creed that the salvation of India lies in assimilating the culture of the world. Religious faith is set to this task definitely. On the other side, Mahatma Gandhi leads a religious movement—for in reality it is a religious movement, notwithstanding its strong political bias—which is attracted by the teachings of Christ and at the same time is repelled by Western culture.

Another institution which has appealed to the educated Hindu mind mainly on account of the synthesis it purports to offer of religions and cultures, is the Theosophical Society. The Theosophical Society, representing the attraction of the Western mind to Hinduism, may not as such be regarded as a religious tendency of Hinduism. But the attraction which theosophy has for the Hindu mind is distinctly such a tendency. The religiously minded who do not care to participate in cultural and religious hostilities find in it a haven of repose powerfully appealing to the twin emotions in Hinduism, mysticism and the desire for unity. Beginning as the defender of Hinduism against the attacks of Christian missionaries, it has outlived that phase and has, in its Indian section at least, taken the rôle of reformer of Hinduism on a radical and mystical basis. The Theosophical Society, representing the unity of religions, is a parallel

current to Visvabharati, representing a unity of cultures. To complete this phase of the subject, reference has to be made to the Varnashrama Dharma movement, which affirms the faith of the conservative India in the adequacy of the Indian religion and social constitution. While almost all the neo-Hindu movements regard caste as a decidedly inadequate and antiquated method of social organization, this movement offers it, in a fine frenzy of zeal, as the panacea for the social evils of the Western world. In its religious outlook it is an obscurantist movement committed to the maintenance of the status quo. Varnashrama Dharma is the reaffirmation of the orthodox position called for by the challenge of alien faiths in India. It represents the fundamentalists' position in Hinduism.

Results of the confluence of cultures are not confined to the spiritual response indicated above. In fact the spiritual response is but the secondary consequence of such contact. The primary effect consists in the creation of a new mental outlook, and in the shifting of the viewpoint from which religion and secular life are regarded. The acceptance of private judgment as the final arbiter of moral and religious values is the first of such revolutionary consequences. This freedom of conscience claims for the individual the right to test and reject the religious beliefs and social customs which maintain themselves by author-

ity. The immediate outcome is an attack on the caste system and a demand to replace it by a more democratic ideal of equality. Islam had already sown seeds of doubt as to the sanctity of caste and the utility of idolatry. What Islam began Western civilization has completed. Social unrest manifesting itself in social criticism and social reform is the universal feature of social life in India. The second effect of the mingling of cultures is the growth of nationalism in the sense of a more united struggle for political liberty. Nationalism is the dominant factor which determines the attitude of educated India to the West and to Christ. The secularization of life and the inoculation of the Indian mind with rationalistic tendencies, are among the other noticeable changes. This liberty of thought has led some to candid atheism, and has landed a larger number in scepticism.

A curious feature of the situation is the combination of pronounced scepticism in religion with fruitful endeavor in social service. A fine instance of such a combination is illustrated in the Bombay group of social workers whose educational work among men and women has found embodiment in the Fergusson College and the Women's College, two outstanding monuments of self-sacrifice and devotion. The greatest danger from Westernism arises not so much from the hostility it provokes to Christianity as from

the general indifference it breeds towards religion. Partial redemption from this negative phase of Western influence comes from the association of the spirit of liberty imparted by modern culture with the constructive forces of Hinduism and Christianity. The neo-Hindu movements all have social outreaches of great importance. The Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the Ramakrishna Mission have all directed their energies to social service wherein philanthropy is set to the task of social redemption. The most pleasing feature of this desire for social service is a new attitude toward the outcaste for whose rehabilitation both Christianity and Hinduism are devoting their resources. Nationalism, primarily political in significance, is being broadened and deepened into an ideal for national reconstruction.

Another line of development relates to the definition of the Hindu attitude toward Christ as distinguished from Western culture. In the case of Ram Mohan Roy it was the teachings of Christ that made a lasting impression, as his book, *The Precepts of Jesus*, and the introduction thereto bear witness. In Keshub Chunder Sen and P. C. Mazumdar, author of *The Oriental Christ*, we have a new phase of devotion to Christ till then unmanifested, the devotion of the disciple to the master in much the same sense as the Christian's. Mahatma Gandhi brings to

the appreciation of Jesus a new element of moral earnestness and discipline, as contrasted with mere emotional attachment. A Jain by birth and a Vaishnavite by choice, his apprehension of Christ is mediated by a strenuous type of *bhakti*. The ethics of Jesus are not only for individual practice but are essential for the nation. The Sermon on the Mount and the doctrine of *ahimsa* which he deduces therefrom are not ideals to be merely professed, ultimate ends to be distantly contemplated, but the very foundation of national life, the cornerstone of the structure. In thus rescuing the ethics of Jesus from barren idealism Gandhi has done a great service in India and abroad. In his current autobiography he describes how he resisted all attempts at conversion to Christianity in the usual acceptation of the term, and confesses to the influence of the *Gita* in the shaping of his life. Nevertheless he never denied or concealed his attraction to Jesus and to the ethics of the Mount. No man in contemporary history has so powerfully commended, by his life and labors, to the attention of India the figure of Christ on the cross as has Mahatma Gandhi.

The growing familiarity with the Christian teaching and the increasing affection for Christ are sometimes manifested in a way so peculiarly and characteristically Indian that it requires some explanation for an outsider to realize them. It is a notice-

able feature of neo-Hinduism that, far from rejecting Christ or his teachings, it affects to find or discover them in Hinduism itself. A recent attempt to establish the fundamental identity between Sivasidhantha and Christianity is a pronounced expression of this tendency. A series of articles in an important newspaper in Madras made an attempt to prove that Jesus was a Tamil *visvakarma* (carpenter). These attempts, however strange they may appear at first sight, really spring out of a desire to show a true hospitality to Christ and his teachings, and must be judged as the homage of the Indian heart to Jesus.

The movements so far mentioned are the products of the joint influence of Hinduism and Christian culture. Even where they are essentially Hindu in form and content, their connection with Christianity in some form or other can be traced. Whether they accept Christ or not, their direction and tone are determined by their attitude toward him. The movements to which reference is here made do not betray any consciousness of extraneous influences. The leaders of these movements are familiar with the outlines of Christian teaching and with the general trend of modern culture. But the inspiration for their teaching flows from within Hinduism. Christianity, to the extent to which it operates at all, does not operate directly and visibly, but by setting into motion the slumbering energies of Hinduism and touching into activity new centers of thought within it.

Of such leaders prominent place should be accorded to Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and his disciple, Swami Vivekananda. Ramakrishna spent his life in a Kali temple, steeped in the atmosphere of Hindu ritual and philosophy, yet he spoke of Christ in terms of love and affection. In Ramakrishna we have the reaction of a genuinely Indian soul to Christ, a knowledge of whom he must have acquired through Keshub Chunder Sen. His aloofness to historic Christianity and Western culture makes him the more able to appreciate Christ as a spiritual figure. His was a finely tuned soul which received and responded to spiritual impressions over a great range, like a seismograph, without even knowing their source and historical connection. His influence still functions through numerous institutions bearing his name, which are doing social work of great utility. His disciple, Swami Vivekananda, found in the message of his master an interpretation of Advaitism which supports the claim of Hinduism to be a universal religion, and devoted his life to the preaching of it as a gospel to the world. Christ was to him a perfect illustration of the philosophy of life which he so eloquently preached.

An account of modern tendencies in Hinduism would be imperfect without reference to three movements of peculiar character and infinite potentiality which are not known to the public, as their doctrines are taught only to the initiated. These are Arabindo

Ghose's Integral Yoga, the Kumbakonam School of Tharaka Yoga, and the Arunachala Mission.

The founders of these three systems are men of extraordinary spiritual intuition, in touch with modern culture and religious movements. Of these the first has had a more than Indian reputation as a brilliant scholar and nationalist. The common characteristic of the movements is an imminent sense of a world crisis which will mark a critical advance in the progress of mankind; the intensity of this feeling is comparable to the feeling of the imminence of the advent of Christ in the Christian churches. The movements may be described as experimental schools of religion which are reporting the inflow of a new spiritual energy into the world. It is just possible that these movements may identify this spiritual energy with what is perhaps deepest in Christian religion—the Holy Spirit, or the spirit of Christ. Should such a conjunction ever be effected, these movements may prove to be the greatest factors in bringing India into touch with the spirit of Christ.

The total influence of Christ and of Western culture has induced the religious reformers to transvalue their religion and social heritage. This aspect of Christian influence has not received its due recognition. As a striking example we may instance the new attitude of Hinduism to suffering. Suffering has always been regarded as an interloper in life, and as

such was a persistent problem in philosophy. Under the example of Mahatma Gandhi a new ideal of suffering has emerged. It is regarded not as a problem but as a partial solution, not as a symptom of disease but as a curative crisis in life. This view of suffering has brought the Cross nearer to the heart of India. Such revaluations are the order of the day. The prominence given to Krishna and the *Gita* as the Indian counterparts of Christ and the Gospels; the new interpretation of the *Gita* more in consonance with the dominant demands of this generation, as it is given to the public by Lokamanya Tilak in the *Gita Rahasym;* the growing importance accorded to prayer, and the greater insistence on the purity of institutional worship, are a few of the directions in which the transvaluation of Hinduism is felt.

If we are not accustomed to regard the church of Christ in India as a thing apart from the Indian nation, a consideration of recent tendencies in Indian religions should include a statement of the activities of the Indian church. The Christian church in India represents the supreme attraction of Christ to the Indian mind and consequently to Hinduism. Unfortunately the church in India is not yet truly Indian in spirit and devotion, but only reflects in a more or less formal way the churches of the West. Nevertheless there are individuals and groups of young men who are feeling more and more power-

fully the appeal of Christ to the Indian heritage that is a part of them. In what ways this stirring of the national soul in the Indian Christian may affect Christian theology it is too early to anticipate, but a few lines of thought and action which are making themselves felt may be mentioned.

First it may be said that Christianity in India and generally in Asia finds itself in a situation radically different from Christianity in the West. Here in India Christianity is called upon to work out its way in the midst of powerful religions which have been the consolation and solace of millions, and which have highly developed philosophies of life and institutional worship. This fact constitutes a challenge to the Christian to state his faith in terms of God's accredited dealings with others. Christianity is not an isolated event in history, and must relate itself to the spiritual history of the world. Christian young men are accepting the challenge, and as a result their minds are moving in two directions. There is a growing disinclination to accept the Old Testament as binding upon the Indian Christian, and a growing impulse to seek a background for Christianity in God's early dealings with Indians rather than with the Jews. Vast tracts of Hindu religious experience are accepted as valid and useful to the Christian in the interpretation of Christ. Sadhu Sundar Singh may be regarded as the visible symbol of this tend-

ency. In him we have the spirit of Christ cast into the mould of the Hindu religious ideal of renunciation and service. Another line of development is the seeking of a vital and direct contact with Christ. Jesus is a mysteriously inexhaustible personality in history. Different races have apprehended him in different ways according to their racial aptitudes. The Greek, the Roman, and the modern worlds have been struck with different aspects of that divine life. To the Indian mind the cosmic importance of Christ in the evolution of humanity, as typified by the power of resurrection, may make a new appeal. Christian young men are already drawn by the mysterious urge of their religious heritage to explore the meaning and value of the resurrection of Christ. The conjunction between the modern schools of yoga and the spiritual investigations of the younger generations of the Indian church may prove momentous in the history of Christianity in India. The Christo Samaj of Madras and the Bangalore Continuation Conference are among the prominent exponents of the new life in the Indian church.

To sum up, with the opening up of India, two forces have entered which are working a silent revolution: Christ and Western civilization. They came into India not as distinct factors but as an interrelated whole. The earlier reactions are either in favor of or against both. But with growing experience

these factors are disentangled and their inherent antagonism perceived, with the result that the reactions have become complex. Some movements are for Christ but not for Western culture. Some are for Western culture but not for Christ. Some acknowledge indebtedness to both. The influence of Western culture is social and economic primarily, and religious secondarily; while that of Christ is religious primarily, and social secondarily. Christ's influence on Hinduism manifests itself in the reconstruction of Hinduism, as in the case of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the Ramakrishna Mission; in the transvaluation of religious and ethical and social ideals; in the creation of a purified spiritual vision which feels the presence of a new spiritual energy in life; in personal devotion, as in the case of Keshub Chunder Sen and Mahatma Gandhi; and in eclectic movements such as theosophy and Visvabharathi. These influences of Christ on Hinduism call for corresponding essays of thought and life on the part of Christianity, and progressive action and reaction between Hindu sects and the Christian church are taking place. This interaction is being effected in an atmosphere tense with nationalism, which seeks to apply the energy born of these contacts for national reconstruction.

It will thus be seen that Christ is fulfilling himself in India in many ways. The critic with his vision

restricted to the visible church and the Indian Christian community feels despondent at the little that has been achieved and the much that remains to be done. The church is a minor fraction of the nation, and the Indian Christian community very small when compared to the Indian people. But the eye of faith, purified by the Holy Spirit, beholds, beyond the tangible and the concrete, the invisible Lord and the mighty influences that are proceeding from him, interpenetrating Hinduism through and through. Amidst unrest of mind and distress of soul, amidst shouts of hope and wails of despondency, in the very center of political tumults and social upheavals, India is sensing a great spiritual crisis. Christ is waiting to be born into her heart. The body of Hinduism as well as of the Indian Christian community may disintegrate and dissolve. But spirit is meeting with spirit, the spirit of Christ with the spirit of Hinduism, in an effort to create for India a soul that perisheth not. For those who are willing to serve Christ in the invisible fields beyond the visible church, in a spirit of humility and brotherhood that knows no pride of culture or race, India has not only a need but a welcome.

P. CHENCHIAH

Madras

IV

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE WESTERN CHURCH

WHO is able to estimate adequately the importance of the three following events in the history of civilization and culture in the world: St. Paul crossing over from Troas to Philippi in response to the call, "Come over into Macedonia and help us"; the Pilgrim Fathers of the Mayflower landing on American soil; and, centuries later, Henry Plütschau and Bartholomeus Ziegenbalg landing in Tranquebar, and William Carey in Calcutta? But for these events, however insignificant they were at the time, the history of Europe, America and India would have flowed along different channels.

Though Plütschau, Ziegenbalg and Carey were the first missionaries to come to India, they were not the first Christians to tread India's soil. Long before they landed, trade, commerce, political ambition and various other motives had drawn to her coasts no small number of Europeans, all of whom were Christians in the eyes of Hindus and Mohammedans. The story of this contact between the East and the

West, between Indians and Europeans and, later, Americans, for the last four or five centuries is a long and chequered one, fraught with consequences good and ill. We shall consider in this chapter merely the contribution which Western Christians have made to India in the realms of culture and of religion.

To begin with, India has had for centuries a culture of her own of which every Indian is naturally proud, and which only in modern times has been recognized and appreciated by Westerners. In the words of Edmund Burke, the Indians are "a people for ages civilized and cultivated; cultivated by all the arts of polished life while we were yet in the woods." And this remains true, even though in the dawn of the modern era the ancient Indian culture deteriorated a great deal.

Now the cultural contribution of the West to India lies in three main directions. First, the linguistic developments of modern India can be traced directly to contacts with the West, especially with the language and literature of England. The missionaries have been pioneers in this field. They have restored the vernaculars from oblivion, and in some cases they have actually created them. It is generally conceded that the Bengali language, which in the opinion of Mr. J. D. Anderson is at present "one of the most expressive languages of the world, capable of

being the vehicle of as great things as any speech of men," is what it is today because of the pioneer work of William Carey. As Mr. Mayhew says in his article, "The Education of India," "Those who are fortunate enough to have the work of Rabindranath Tagore in the original Bengali . . . will claim with justice this field as one in which there has been fusion of East and West, and as one in which a very real contribution has been made by the West to the literary and artistic life of India." What Carey did for Bengali, other Western missionaries or laymen have done for the other Indian vernaculars. To give only one more illustration, it is the Western missionaries who have given the language of the Khasis, one of the animist hill tribes in Assam, its present script, grammar and literature. Formerly this language, because of its limited range, was capable of expressing but the merest rudimentary needs of humanity.

Second, it is Western scholars, including missionaries, civilians and business men, who have explored the riches of Eastern learning and culture that lay buried in such ancient languages as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and have opened the eyes of the civilized world and even of Indians themselves to the beauty and richness of the ancient Indian culture. In this field the work done by Englishmen deservedly takes front rank. It is eulogized in the following terms by Sir Valentine Chirol: "It was Englishmen in India—

Sir William Jones, the first translator of the Laws of Manu as well as of *Sakuntala*, the finest of Indian dramas; Colebrook, who wrote the first Sanskrit grammar; Charles Wilkins, who translated the *Bhagavad Gita;* Carey, who was the first English teacher of Sanskrit at the College of Fort Williams; H. H. Wilson, who published the first Sanskrit grammar; Tod, the immortal author of the *Annals of Rajasthan*—it was these and many others who blazed the trail for Max Müller and Monier Williams and Roth and Sasses and Burnouf and the great host of European scholars who have revealed to India, scarcely less than to the Western world, . . . the historical as well as the literary value of the great body of Hindu literature which is the key to India's civilization." In more modern times a similar service to Indian culture has been successfully undertaken by the Young Men's Christian Association through its publication of a series of books under the title of *The Heritage of India*, which has laid all Indians under a heavy debt of gratitude to the organization. And this revival of Indian culture embraces a much wider field than literature. The modern school of painting founded by Abanindranath Tagore, and the Society of Oriental Art, founded in 1907 and patronized by all the leading artists of India, witness to the working of the same spirit in other directions.

Third, the contact of Western culture with India has implanted in her those great liberating and uplifting ideas and ideals of equality, freedom, self-determination, unity, nationalism, etc., which have created a ferment in the last few years in the social and political life of India, and have inspired such diverse movements in modern times as the Social Service League, the Indian National Congress, the Mission to the Depressed Classes, and the general popular movement for non-cooperation. Is it any wonder that Indian students who have drunk deep at the wells of John Milton, J. S. Mill, Mazzini, Garibaldi and others of their stamp should be fired with the highest aspirations of liberty and equality for their own mother-land in later years, even though they know full well that the path of the nationalist in India not infrequently leads to jail and the Andaman Islands? If nationalism produced a Tilak, reactionary in religion and revolutionary in politics, it has also produced a Gokhale, who has bequeathed his ideals of constructive statesmanship and ordered progress to the Servants of India Society. It is to the fine spirit of national service manifested by these and other societies that one should look for the permanent effect of the impact of the foundation ideas of Western civilization and culture on India.

But the greatest contribution that the West has made, also the best within the power of any country

or people to bestow upon another, is the inestimable gift of Jesus Christ and his gospel. Only Christ has enabled India to realize for herself in perfect measure her age-long religious aspirations enshrined in that beautiful prayer of the Rig Veda, "Lead me from the unreal to the real; lead me from darkness to light; lead me from death to immortality." In Christ India has found a new reality, a new life, a new way, a new truth, and a new light. The history of Christian missions for the past hundred and fifty years is but the story of the spread of Christ's Kingdom in India, and as days go by one is only confirmed in the belief that India ultimately will fall at the feet of Christ and accept him as her Master and Lord.

Nowhere is the influence of Christianity on modern India more marked than in the changes it has wrought in the character of Hinduism, the leading religion of the country. Hinduism, let it be said, is a religion, a philosophy, a social code and a private conscience all in one. The change that has come over Hindu ways of thinking and living during the last century is nothing short of a miracle. The caste system, the bulwark of Hindu orthodoxy, is being surely and steadily undermined. A Gandhi may defend it on economic grounds, and an Arya Samajist may be convinced of its divine origin or of its philosophic perfection; but there is no doubt that its foundations

are shaken and that its fall is imminent. Not only have the time-honored Indian social customs yielded place to new and better ones under the inspiration of Christianity, but the ways of thinking of the people have witnessed a thorough transformation. The ease and familiarity with which God is conceived as the loving Father and friend, and as one who possesses in perfect measure the highest moral and spiritual qualities known to men; the recognition in national and political affairs that righteousness alone exalteth a nation, and that integrity of character is the true condition of success in life; the reverence for the golden rule, and the loyalty to the principle of overcoming evil with good even at the risk of suffering and sacrifice—do not all these bear witness to the fact that modern India pays homage to the Son of God who sacrificed his life for the sake of the world on the cross of Calvary? Again, the doctrine of *karma* which once formed the warp and woof of Hindu philosophic thought is reduced almost to shreds; the once mighty figure is at present but a lingering shadow. The lives of the majority of thinking Hindus throughout India at the present time are an emphatic refutation of the law of *karma*, and countless numbers who have been in the fatal grip of this terrible demon have been set at liberty and have experienced the joy of sin forgiven and grace bestowed upon them by the God and Father

of Jesus Christ. In short, Christianity has effected in Hinduism a transition of values. It has put a new content into the Hindu idea of God, set up a new standard of moral and spiritual life, and given an ideal for individuals and communities to live and work for.

No one can estimate what the Bible has done for India and her people. Even as a book its influence on the literature of India is in no way inferior to that of the Authorized Version in the life and literature of the English-speaking peoples. "If there is any book," writes Mr. Mayhew, "that can culturally unite a Morley and a Gandhi it is the Bible, and India owes the Bible to those schools and colleges that have grown out of British rule in India. The Bible is perhaps the only asset of Western culture that has never yet been referred to with a gesture of reproach or hate."

Another monument to the labors of Western missionaries is the Indian Christian community. It is no exaggeration to say that the Indian Christian community has been created and built up by the Western missionaries, mostly from the outcastes in India. These missionaries have been like *ma-bap* (mother and father) not only to individual Christians but to the community at large. Indian Christians, owing to weakness and prejudices inherited from their non-Christian ancestors or adopted from their neighbors,

have been a constant target for adverse criticism in many quarters. It has been said that they form but another caste, swelling the number of multitudinous castes and sects already to be found in India. Though not altogether free from reproach, a community which is Christian and Indian at the same time has inestimable opportunity to mediate between Hindus and Mohammedans in their frequent misunderstandings and quarrels, and between Europeans and Indians with their prejudices one towards another. Surely there is room in India for the collective witness to Christ of communities which seek for peace and good-will among men and for the glory of God on earth.

Though it may truly be said that the Western missionaries have given the gospel of Jesus Christ to India, it must not be forgotten that before the earliest of these emissaries was born there existed in the southwest corner of India a small Christian community which claims an apostolic origin for its ancient church. The Syrian Christians of Malabar, or the Christians of St. Thomas as they are sometimes called, were a flourishing Christian community, having their own churches, bishops and clergy and enjoying prerogatives and privileges conferred upon them by the ruling princes of Kerala, when the pioneer missionaries landed in British India. But alas, their light was hidden under a bushel. Cut away

from the rest of India by the impregnable mountain ranges of the west coast, and obligated to defend itself against the proselytizing policy of the early Roman Catholic missionaries, the church had all it could do to save itself from complete disintegration. In that very attempt to save itself the early Syrian church lost itself, or at least was lost to the rest of India. The new light and life that Western missions, working in Malabar now for over one hundred years, have brought to the Syrian Christian community are a complete justification for past missionary effort in India. The church which was dead is alive again.

A community of Christian believers once hardly different from their non-Christian neighbors is now in the vanguard of Christian progress and evangelistic effort. The Union Christian College in Alwaye, Travancore, started in 1921, is a symbol of the new spirit that has come into the Syrian church. It is the only first-grade college in India which is controlled by an Indian council consisting of members from the different cooperating denominations. The sense of missionary responsibility newly awakened in this ancient church is convincing testimony to the success of Indian missions and a sure guarantee of a better future for Christianity in India. One of the bishops of the orthodox section has founded in recent years a Christian *ashram* and is actively engaged in training *sadhus* for missionary work in and outside the

church. Large numbers of young men are coming forward every year and offering themselves for the ministry of the church. Of the sixty-three students from different parts of India who have taken the B.D. degree for Serampore College, as many as twenty are Syrian Christians.

Viewing the achievements and contributions of the Western missionary from many angles, one has no hesitation in endorsing the appreciation voiced by Lord Lawrence, one of the greatest of Indian viceroys: "Notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit India, the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined."

But it is high time now that we looked at the other side of the picture. During the last few years a wave of reaction has swept over the Christian communities of India, and missions and missionaries have come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of leading Indian Christians. It is said that missions have denationalized Indian Christians by the kind of instruction given in mission schools and colleges, and that the Indian Christians consequently, instead of being looked upon as the children of the soil, are considered by the non-Christian leaders of India to be as un-Indian in habits and outlook as some of the Western missionaries themselves. Anyone who has travelled in India, especially in the northern provinces, and who has lived and moved with Indian

Christians will realize that this conclusion is not altogether unwarranted. Many an Indian Christian even today is an out-and-out Westerner in his name, habits, dress, manners, outlook, in fact in all but color.

Again it is pointed out by the critics of the missionary that the policy of Western missions in the past has not been to build up a united Indian church or to train the Indian Christians for assuming the responsibilities of an independent and autonomous church in the near future. Missionaries are charged with having a narrow sectarian outlook which takes delight in importing and perpetuating the ecclesiastical and doctrinal differences of the West, and which makes Christianity in India an exact reproduction of what the missionaries themselves are accustomed to in their home lands. The educated Indian Christian says that Calvinism and Lutherism and the other isms of the West are meaningless shibboleths to him, and his Indian heart cries out to be freed from these and to unite itself with those of his countrymen who bear a different ecclesiastical label from his own. It is also argued that the failure of Christianity in India is due to the fact that the infant Christian church has been tied to the apron strings of its mother from the West and that it has never been allowed to develop along its own lines. Hence the cry for the Indianization of Christianity, started by

some of the radical thinkers in the Christian community, especially in the south.

To most of these charges the missions must plead guilty. But in fairness to Western missions it must be said that whatever faults may have been committed in the past were the results of a lack of foresight and vision, rather than of any deliberate policy of selfish domination or love of power. Recent changes in the attitude and policy of some of the missions constitute a happy augury for the future. The present situation in the Christian church, as well as in non-Christian India generally, is one full of difficulties and dangers, as well as of opportunities and privileges. The Indian church is confronting problems of self-support and self-propagation in many places. It is addressing itself seriously to the task of the evangelization of India, as can be seen from the support that is steadily and increasingly being given to the National Missionary Society, the largest indigenous evangelistic organization in India. It is also trying to understand and to interpret the teaching of Jesus Christ in a way that will take hold of the hearts of thinking Hindus and Mohammedans.

In non-Christian India there is a growing appreciation of the spirit of Jesus Christ, as is evidenced by such a book as *The Christ of the Indian Road*, by Dr. Stanley Jones. It is not without significance

that one of the two pictures that adorned the hall in which the sessions of the last Indian National Congress were held was that of Jesus Christ wearing a crown of thorns. The Calcutta University has adopted the Bible as a textbook for college students, and for the last five years non-Christian students and teachers have been reading and discussing daily the teachings of Jesus Christ. The more recent instance of the non-Christian students of the Gujerat National College asking Mahatma Gandhi to teach them the Bible is too well known to need comment here. Only a short time ago the Hindu principal of a college in Calcutta, speaking with a Christian missionary about a Hindu boy whose faith in Hinduism had been shaken by contact with Christians, gave the following significant advice: "Take him to your chapel, read the Bible and pray with him." All these instances and many more which one constantly comes across point out in unmistakable terms that there is an open door for the spirit of Christ in the heart of non-Christian India.

An impression is abroad that the missionaries have outlived their period of usefulness in India and that they do but cumber the ground at the present time. Nothing is further from the truth. No doubt the times have changed and the old conditions no longer prevail, but the need for men and women from abroad remains the same and has only grown with

the growing complexities of the situation. The missionary who comes to India intending to lord it over the Indian churches had better not book his passage at all. But we do want men and women filled with a passionate love for the Master and his church in the India that is yet to be, and who will glory in being called the friends and servants of India for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ.

C. E. ABRAHAM

Serampore

V

THE STATUS OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

AS one surveys the situation in India one's heart is filled with the spirit of thanksgiving, penitence and hope—thanksgiving for what God has accomplished even through weak and incompetent agencies, penitence for the many failings and shortcomings which not only loom large in the eyes of outsiders but are keenly felt by every conscientious and thoughtful Christian, and hope for the glorious possibilities which God has graciously placed within the reach of the church if it rises and stretches forth its arm to lay hold upon them.

The Christians in India number about five millions, that is, about one Christian in every sixty-six of the total population. Following the Hindus and the Moslems, the Christians constitute the next largest community in India, outnumbering the Jains, the Sikhs, the Parsis and the Buddhists. During the last ten years the Christian population of India has increased from 3,873,000 to 4,753,000, or at the rate of 22.6 per cent, as compared with 0.1 per cent for the Hindus, and 5.1 per cent for the Moslems. In

some respects the social and political influence of Christianity is even greater than its numerical strength. Under the new reform scheme at least three Indian Christians have occupied ministerial offices under provincial governments. Two Indian Christians are filling the high office of judge in provincial high courts. One Indian Christian is officiating at present as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Besides these conspicuous examples, we find Indian Christians all over India entrusted with responsible positions in various departments and activities of government, education and industry. There is just cause of gratitude, therefore, for the large increase in Christian adherents during recent years and for the character and influence of many individuals who profess Christ's name.

While we have great reason to rejoice at what has been accomplished in the past, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the spiritual level of the church in general is low. India is still a rural country, over seventy-five per cent of its population being found in the villages. The proportion of rural to urban Christians must be even larger. The mass-movement Christians, found in the villages, as the name shows have come into the church in large numbers, usually without adequate instruction in the essentials of the Christian faith, and often with mixed or wholly extraneous motives. Hence we find among them too

much of nominal Christianity, and too much of what Dr. Stanley Jones calls horizontal conversion.

The causes are not far to seek. Mass-movement work has been carried on generally amongst the lowest classes of Indian population, and those who have been regarded for centuries as the outcastes and scum of humanity. It is not unnatural for these depressed classes to seek for a rise in their social status. The adoption of the Christian faith, which receives them with more open arms than even Islam, helps to satisfy these social ambitions. They have been treated as serfs, nothing more, and for centuries have been subjected to forced labor and other forms of oppression which mark a state of semi-slavery. They are naturally anxious to find protection from the constant and aggressive demands made by landlords and petty government officials on their time, labor, and even their honor. Their economic condition is far worse than that of any other community. Never having owned any land, even in generations past, the slightest possibility of possessing it serves as a talisman to urge them to come rushing into the fold of the Christian church.

For the present state of things the system of missionary reports and statistics required by the foreign mission boards is in some measure responsible. In the West, where education has become more or less universal, where science has trained men to study

and present facts, and where the relation between subordinates and superiors is not that of subservient dependence, these numerical calculations serve a useful purpose. But in the mission fields in India, where the Indian Christian worker has to please his missionary superintendent by presenting a glowing report of baptisms, and where he is anxious to score higher than his fellow Indian workers lest he be considered comparatively inefficient, statistical reports become a temptation to record on the roll of baptized Christians every year many who have not the slightest conception of the significance of baptism, nor the faintest desire for repentance from their sins. Added to these handicaps, the ministers under whose care these mass-movement Christians are supposed to thrive are themselves in many cases men whose spiritual and intellectual attainments do not call forth any great admiration from the flock they look after. Their economic status keeps them absorbed in providing means of existence for their usually large families, and compels them to stoop to questionable practices in order to supplement their meager income. Having received their own Christian instruction along non-indigenous lines, their presentation of the gospel to their congregations naturally assumes an alien form and fails to grip the hearts and lives of their flock.

Under such circumstances as those mentioned, we

should not be surprised to find a large number of village Christians without any real knowledge and understanding of the Christian faith. Even the best of them know very little beyond a few Bible stories, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Tradition means far more in India than in other countries; these nominal Christians, with very little background by way of social inheritance, and without real conversion, are sometimes guilty of glaring violations of the ordinary moral code. It is no wonder that the village Christians as well as their ministers fail as a rule to make any impression whatsoever upon the non-Christian caste people in the villages.

For this reason the practice of wholesale and injudicious inclusion of nominal Christians within the church has been a stumbling-block to many who might otherwise have accepted Christianity. Confining the work to the lower classes, who are easier to handle, has given rise to a common belief among the caste people that Christianity is meant to be the religion of sweepers and outcastes only. There are, however, indications of a halt so far as mass movements are concerned. The Hindus themselves have awakened as never before to the need of ameliorating the condition of the fifty millions of outcastes, and of bringing them into the fold of Hinduism. This may be God's way of driving Christian missions once more to the work of evangelizing the

middle classes which was almost entirely neglected during several decades.

The educational status of mass-movement Christians is one of the weakest factors in rural Christianity. The percentage of literacy among the village Christians is lower than that of any other section of village population. Education is not identical with literacy, but in the case of the poor Christians in villages who have very little of social background, literacy and education become synonymous. Village Christians are obliged by economic pressure to demand some form of labor from their children as soon as they are able to do any kind of manual work, even as early as the age of five years. Nor does the kind of education at present imparted give the children any practical help in life, owing to the wide distance between modern education and actual life. Over against this, the percentage of literacy among city Christians is higher than among the other classes of Indian population. This is particularly true in the case of women, Christian women being found in leading positions in educational work all over the country. But with growing interest in female education Christians are bound to be left behind by their non-Christian fellow-countrymen. Owing to the accession of a large number of village Christians every year, the percentage of Christian literacy has fallen; and one of the greatest problems that Christian

statesmen will have to face in the near future is that of mass education in the villages.

In the cities we find small groups of Christians, most of them of Christian parentage, whose fathers and forefathers came out of caste communities—Hindus, Mohammedans, etc. A number of them are children of converts who were the fruit of the labor of early missionaries. There is also a sprinkling of former Hindus and Mohammedans, but present-day evangelism is much less successful in securing permanent adherents. The great increase in the Christian population in India, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is almost entirely a rural phenomenon. Besides paucity in the number of new adherents in cities, there are other factors which should give concern for the future of the church in India. There is among city Christians a prevailing spirit of worldliness and materialism, in which they sometimes surpass their non-Christian fellow-citizens. They have naturally adopted more of the Western mode of living, and their expenses in too many cases exceed their incomes. They are constantly absorbed in the betterment of their material prospects, and they have little inclination and time for the gospel message. This comparative absence of the missionary spirit results in lack of sympathy towards new inquirers and converts, and reacts adversely upon the life of the church itself. Nor do we find the sense

of Christian giving properly developed among either the rural or the urban Christians. Having received their religion from comparatively opulent foreign missionaries instead of from poor *sadhus*, *pundits* and *maulvies*, they develop an attitude of receiving rather than of giving. The most discouraging feature is lack of prayer, in private life and in family life. This is well illustrated by a remark made by a non-Christian to the effect that Mohammedans pray five times a day, Hindus twice a day, and Christians once a week.

Not the least of the weaknesses in Indian Christianity has been its persistently alien character. The effect of this, experienced in the life of Indian Christians living in cities and keenly felt by their non-Christian fellow-countrymen, has been a strong tendency towards their denationalization. Not only have Indian Christians adopted Western ways and customs wholesale, and assumed Western names, but they have frequently passed themselves off as Anglo-Indians and Europeans. They have fought shy of their native language, and of their Indian kith and kin, and have despised the rich and glorious heritage of their ancestors. The forms and modes of worship in the churches are still to a large extent foreign, and for this reason the Indian church has failed both to make an appeal to the imagination of the people outside of it, and to play an effective part

in Indian national life. This denationalizing tendency has received a great check from the strong national wave which set in a few years ago, as a result of which most Christians have changed their outlook with regard to things Indian. Serious attempts are being made in different quarters to develop an indigenous church in India. One important attempt is the devolution of responsibility from the foreign mission boards to the Indian church. By universal acknowledgment, Christian work in India has been so far mission-centric, and is now becoming church-centric. The work of devolution is going on all over India, though at different stages of development according to the social and spiritual level of the Christians in the various mission fields.

It may require some time for the Christian church in India to become indigenous and to stand on its own feet, but already there are forces at work which give hopes of a bright and glorious future. While Christianity has not been accepted by a large number of Indians, Christian truths have been absorbed by different reform movements within the leading religions of India. It may suffice to mention a few instances. The Brahmo Samaj, with its stress on theism and eclectic study of all religious systems, has given to Jesus Christ and his teaching a high place in thought and worship. In fact its followers are in close alliance with Unitarian Christians of the West.

Its two great founders, Rajah Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen, have spoken of Christ in the highest and most unequivocal terms. The Arya Samaj, with its emphasis on monotheism and its condemnation of idolatry, has sought for a purer form of Hinduism through a new interpretation of the Vedas. Other instances are the Ramakrishna Mission, and various smaller sects which are of provincial or local importance.

It is a fact worth noting that many of the religious reformers in modern India were at one time on the point of becoming Christians. This has been publicly admitted by men like Mahatma Gandhi among the Hindus, and Dr. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad among the Mohammedans. Again, among the reformers have been several who developed their religious life through their own mental conflict between Christianity and the faith of their forefathers. Hindu India's appreciation of Christ is very marked and of a high degree. Those of her sons who are held in the highest esteem by all classes of people, such as Mahatma Gandhi and the late C. R. Das, have frankly and fearlessly made known their admiration of the matchless Prophet of Galilee. Gandhi recently undertook to teach the New Testament to a group of Indian students who were anxious to learn spiritual truths from him, and Mr. Das, in his last presidential address at the National Congress before his death,

made quotations from Christ and the Bible more often than from any other single person or book. Hindu thought as expressed in modern literature, and especially in the contemporary press, is often surcharged with Christian truth, and is frequently expressed in the language of Christian scriptures. Mohammedan India has naturally been slow in adopting Christian truths, but here again there is marked improvement. There was a time when the expression "Son of God" was greatly resented by Mohammedan audiences, but now they sit and listen by the hour to the preaching of the gospel message in which this title is frequently mentioned. The word cross used to be a stumbling-block and an idolatrous superstition to the Mohammedan, but he has begun to look at it now as a symbol of self-sacrifice and love.

A good deal of credit for this change of attitude both among Hindus and Mohammedans is due to the leavening educational work of Christian missions. One of the most hopeful signs of progress of Christian truth in India is the admiration of Indians for the humanitarian aspect of Christianity. The modern attitude towards the untouchables as emphasized by Mahatma Gandhi, the Arya Samaj, and the Shuddhi movement, the ideals of social service which have found expression in the Servants of India Society founded by the late Mr. Gokhale, and the improvement in the status of women, all indicate this

progress. There are thousands today scattered all over India who secretly or openly accept Jesus Christ as their great exemplar and Savior, even though they are not prepared to identify themselves with the Indian Christian church as they find it at present.

A. THAKAR DASS

Lahore, Punjab

VI

CHRISTIANITY AND INDIAN NATIONHOOD

THERE are facts about Christianity and its history in India which ought to be known more widely if her case is to have fair treatment. Christianity suffers very largely in the esteem of the Indian patriot because it is the religion of the nation which controls the destinies of our land at the present moment. It is not always realized that this is really an accident. That England rules India today is not because of Christianity. For more than one Christian nation tried the game, though only one of them succeeded.

And the first fact I desire to emphasize in the present connection is that Christianity was well rooted in India before England was converted by St. Augustine. It is indeed the tradition of the Syrian Christian community of Travancore that St. Thomas the apostle himself brought the gospel to our shores. Whatever the value of that tradition may be, historians are now clear from unassailable evidence that Christianity must have been planted in India by the

fourth if not the third century, and that a fairly flourishing community must have been in existence on both coasts of the peninsula in the fifth century. The religion so established, thanks to the characteristic tolerance of the Hindu princes, did not merely exist but went on flourishing; so much so that before long statutory measures were taken to recognize the social position as well as the legal rights of the Christian community. The social position so accorded was on a par with that of the Nair community, to which the royal house itself belonged.

This community has had its own domestic and ecclesiastical history. The point of importance is that in all its vicissitudes, in contact with the Nestorians and in conflict with the Romans, the community was, by reason of its size, enlightenment and organization, competent to take care of its own affairs, to fight its own battles, and to hand on a rich heritage to future generations. In point of wealth and property, in development of industry and commerce, the community took a foremost share in the life of the whole country. Today the position of enormous importance which the Syrian Christian community holds in Travancore is just in line with her long history, and is due to no recent fortuitous circumstances. It should be noted that the Christians of Travancore and Cochin alone number 1,150,000, and form twenty-eight per cent of the population.

Aside from this community there is the Roman Catholic community founded by the mission of Francis Xavier in the sixteenth century. He was quickly followed by a succession of missionaries from many countries on the continent of Europe, and the roll is all the time increasing rather than decreasing. The community grew to hold a position of considerable importance in the Mahratta kingdom of Tanjore, in the Naik kingdom of Madura, in the Mohammedan principality of the Carnatic, and along the coasts of Malabar. This so far as the Madras Presidency goes. But right through India it has grown in size and importance in every language area.

Coming to Protestant times, it ought to be mentioned that the first missionaries came from Denmark and Germany, that their immediate successors were largely Germans, and that today the Protestant community, if analyzed, will show that it is thoroughly comprehensive in its affinities, reckoning several countries of the continent, the United States of America, and of course England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada and Australia. It is literally true to say that today, aside from the Syrians, who stand by themselves independent of all foreign connection, the great bulk of the Christian community looks not to Britain but to one or another country of Europe and to the United States for its spiritual ancestry and affinity. Let it also be realized that Christianity in

India has been well established for fifteen centuries at least, that it has taken root in all the provinces and language areas from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and that the five millions which it includes bear no inconsiderable share in the life of the people, whether in agriculture, industry, commerce or the professions.

Another factor which ought to be clearly remembered about Christianity is that it makes no cut-and-dried demands as regards the social life of its adherents or what may be called the externalities of life. Christ refused to lay down rules analogous to what Moses did for the Jews. He restricted himself to laying down principles, leaving it to his adherents to express those principles in accordance with their lights. The result was that whenever Christianity was accepted by a people, it acted, to quote the words of Christ himself, as "a leaven working from within," the principles gradually transforming the old habits and customs into new ones. It was a process of transformation and not of substitution. In fact there was nothing to substitute. Even though at the outset new converts naturally swallow without discrimination many of the habits and customs of the missionaries who work among them, it is not long before the indigenous forces assert themselves and the accretions are thrown out by what wells up from within. We see these results in history and we see

them among the Christian nations today. There is the Chinese Christian, for example, every inch a Christian and yet as different as anything could be from the Spanish Christian, though the Spaniards took the gospel to China first. But nearer home the contrast is more telling. Just the Alps divide Italian Christians and Swiss Christians; the Pyrenees stand between French Christians and Spanish Christians.

What is the cause of the rise of nationalism in Europe? In the Dark Ages one church and one culture dominated Europe and systematically attempted to impose a dead level of uniformity upon all the peoples who populated Europe. The Renaissance and the Reformation worked hand in hand to break down this artificiality. The rediscovery of ancient Greece and Rome, coupled with the dynamic for liberty supplied by the Reformation, let loose the dormant forces of nationalism. Once started, these manifested themselves aggressively, and as each nation grew in self-realization it expressed its Christianity in its own way through art, literature, music, national organization; in short, its own history. The point is that no nation found Christianity to be inimical or even a handicap to self-expression. On the other hand, it is the glory of Christianity that the principles which it holds are so fundamentally related to human nature that they are accessible to all men and women of every nation and of every

age. Each one can appropriate them to himself and express them in his own way.

What is true of the individual is true of a nation as a whole. Every nation that has tried Christianity has found an effective dynamic for expressing its own peculiar national genius. Is there anything in the peculiar culture of India that will be destroyed by Christianity? If the testimony of one whose Christianity is derived from an ancestry of over one hundred and fifty years is of any value, here is mine. The more deeply the spirit of Christ is assimilated, the more spaciously does one secure freedom of self-expression in line with one's peculiar national heritage. There never need be conflict between the two loyalties. Of course there can be no compromise for a true Christian in regard to a moral issue. This certainly is no disability to Indian nationalism.

While all this will be admitted, one must go further and explain that all those excesses of nationalism whose true name is chauvinism are utterly opposed to the principles which are derived from Christ. Time and space cannot be taken up here to sustain this thesis. I must be content just to state it. My ready authority in this reading of Jesus Christ is the Mahatma himself.

If this be true, the course of the history of Europe in the past five hundred years is due to two fundamental causes: (1) the urge of the Christian

dynamic towards individual and national self-expression, and (2) the urge of the baser elements in man to carry self-expression to excesses of self-assertion and aggrandizement. As regards the individual we stand by the truth that "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,—these three alone lead life to sovereign power." But we know that self-reverence, which comes from the divine right of personality revealed as an eternal verity by Christ, is constantly in conflict not merely with false humility or slavish mentality but even more with pride and arrogance. We know that self-control is similarly in conflict not only with self-assertion but also with self-indulgence. We also know that self-knowledge is often at the mercy of self-illusion, leading to dire consequences. What is true of the individual is true of the nation.

Well, then, if my contention is true the principles of Christ stand at the base not merely of all true nationalism, but they stand also at the base of true internationalism. True internationalism takes in all mankind as a household of one family in which every nation has a place of its own. It is this that the principles of Christ demand.

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What has Christianity done for India? In fairness to Christianity it is necessary to confine the

answer to what has been done definitely and necessarily in the name of Christ and Christianity. There is often loose thinking in this matter. A Christian nation is alleged to have done this or that; and tacitly the impression is left that the nation which did it did it because it was a Christian nation. As a matter of fact there is no such thing as a Christian nation; there never has been, in the sense that every member of the nation or everything that it does as a nation conforms to the principles of Christ. All that happens when a nation as a whole accepts Christianity is that it lays itself open freely to the influences issuing from Christ; in reacting to such influences a nation, like an individual, fails more often than not to pay the price for full success. The price demanded by Christ is heavy and cuts at the very vitals of selfishness and self-interest. Nations, as individuals, come short of Christian principles just there—where they deal with others, and their interests conflict.

In fairness to Christianity, therefore, once more we claim we should answer the question by confining our attention to what has been done by Christians in the name of Christ or Christianity. Obviously the first thing to consider is conversion or proselytism; but that question is worthy of being handled in a section by itself. We shall therefore take up now some of the other important lines of service.

Among these undoubtedly stands out in great

prominence the work of education. It is a matter of common knowledge that missionaries and missions pioneered in what is now called higher education. With Sir William Bentinck and Rajah Ram Mohan Roy there must always be coupled William Carey and Alexander Duff of Calcutta, William Miller of Madras, Noble of Masulipatam, Wilson of Bombay, Hislop of Nagpur, Forman of Lahore, Arthur Ewing of Allahabad and others. But it is not only in higher education that missions have rendered service. Wherever a mission has been located, there has inevitably followed the establishment of elementary schools for both boys and girls. In fact, with all the enormous growth of state and private educational work in this country, the share of the missions is in proportion still very considerable. Here are just a few figures. The total number of schools and colleges maintained by Protestant missions in 1923 was 14,244, and they educated in the collegiate grade 20,387 young men and 2,173 young women; in the secondary grade 77,178 boys and 30,646 girls; in the primary grade 287,576 boys and 172,583 girls. The figures for Roman Catholic institutions are not available to me at this moment. They must be almost as much, if not even more. Add to these numbers, vast as they are, the fact that in mission schools and colleges as a rule are given, with a sense of dedication, the services of many Christian men and women,

both foreign and Indian. The reader will thus realize the enormous educational contribution that is made to the country in the name of Christianity.

Apart from education, narrowly so called, the work of the missionaries in regard to the languages of India and their literature has been considerable. The work done by William Carey and his colleagues at Serampore was a service unique in the history of intellectual endeavor the world over. Their services were not confined to Bengali alone but extended to a marvelous number of Indian and other Asiatic languages. Speaking for my own language, there is Beschi, who first put the Tamil dictionary into modern shape, and Caldwell, who first raised the cause of Dravidian lore to command something like serious attention from European scholars. And there were Henry Bower, G. U. Pope, Thomas Foulkes, each of whom in his own way prepared for the renaissance of Tamil. Similar service was done to Kanarese, Telegu and Malayalam by missionaries. It was the business of the missionary to know the language of the people. Usually the missionary came with a good intellectual training obtained in his country. He naturally went farther, not merely considering the language of the people as a tool for his purpose, but impelled by the very interest of the subject to apply to the language the methods of study to which he had himself been trained in the West: analysis and

synthesis in regard to its structure, researches into etymology, phonetics and philological affinities, creation of accessories for scholarly study by his successors and also for further literary production by the sons of the soil. This was all a labor of love, and usually the missionary brought to it not merely a trained mind and disciplined literary habits but also the necessary leisure and often the needed funds. Such service, aided by the stimulus of the printing press and periodical literature, inevitably helped our people to bring about that renaissance of which we are now so rightly proud.

Next only to education, or perhaps of even higher value, there is that magnificent service rendered by missionaries in the relief of disease and suffering. In the olden days almost every missionary attempted some medical relief. His daily and hourly contact with men and women compelled him to attempt it. But before long, men and women trained technically in medicine and surgery came out to found what has happily proved to be an indispensable feature of every well-established mission in India. Today it is undeniable that some of the most popular, best equipped and most ably conducted hospitals are maintained by missions, and are well distributed throughout the country. Running the mind's eye over the map of our country, one sees a galaxy of these stars in every quarter of the country. The hos-

pitals and dispensaries conducted in 1923 by Protestant missions alone numbered 701, the number of patients treated during the year 3,149,115, the number of beds maintained 4,590. The Roman Catholic missions do a very considerable amount of work, probably quite as much as these magnificent totals.

The missions have had almost the monopoly in the conduct of leper institutions throughout the land. The Protestants alone conduct sixty-eight of these institutions in the various provinces. Tuberculosis also claimed the very serious attention of missions. The story of the service done in connection with this fell disease, and of the lives, some of them young lives, laid down for others in this regard, would be intensely romantic. There are eight sanatoria in different parts of India. Then there are homes for the blind, the deaf and the dumb, where they are taught to read and write, and taught also some simple industry sufficient to bring them an honest and useful livelihood.

How can we ever estimate the worth of the service for reclaiming fallen women? In recent years public attention has turned to this problem. Workers in this line will agree that it is difficult enough to place the necessary provisions, negative and positive, in the statute books, but that when that is done, fallen women cannot be reclaimed unless they have somewhere to go where they have opportunities for earn-

ing an honest livelihood. The conduct of such a refuge is a very delicate matter and could not be accomplished except by the application of what is best in manhood and womanhood. It is the glory of Christian missions that this work has been and is being done for our country. In this service there must be singled out the work of Miss Amy Wilson Carmichael. She reclaims children, some of them even babes, the moment they are "married" off to a god and thus dedicated to lifelong prostitution. Her emissaries secure these children in many parts of India, and in her crèches and homes she provides for all such unfortunates, large though their numbers be and of all ages, personal and parental care, and opportunities for growing into useful and honorable womanhood.

Another line of service of large magnitude is the uplift of the depressed classes. The spread of Christianity in every country to which it originally went has followed that way. To preach the gospel to the poor is a slogan taken from Christ himself. It was not only the fishermen of Palestine but also largely the slaves of the Roman Empire who embraced Christianity in large numbers at the inception of the religion. So it was and is in India. It is to the glory of the missionary that this is so. To this day it is a moot point in the mind of the young missionary, choosing to come out from Europe or America, as to

which is the more glorious thing for him to do—to work among the higher strata through schools and colleges, or to work among the poor and downtrodden in the villages and hamlets. The roll of missionaries in India would show a surprisingly large majority of brilliant sons of Western universities burying themselves alive in out-of-the-way villages in India. This is true of both Roman Catholics and Protestants. The comparatively rapid spread of Christianity in India is partly due to this fact. It has been pointed out that every decade has seen the Christian community increase by about thirty-six per cent. Also, in every decade the religion has advanced in a different part of the country, obviously due to the accessibility of new castes or tribes. Aboriginal tribes like Ghonds and Santals, nomadic tribes like Sukalis and Doms; industrial people like the Sanars of the extreme south, the Madigas of the Telugu country, the Mangs of Maharashtra and the Chamars of the north; agricultural laborers like the Pariahs, the Malas and the Mahars; the very sweepers like the Chuhrahs,—of all these, the lowliest of the low, none have been neglected. Today it will probably be an accurate estimate to say that fully sixty or seventy per cent of the Indian Christian community, i.e., something over three millions, are drawn from such classes.

But what has been done for these depressed

classes? Has Christianity meant to them merely a change of religion? Almost never. Here and there mass movements have certainly run beyond the resources of missions. This is particularly true, I think, in parts of the Punjab and the Gangetic plain. But taken as a whole (that is, thinking of the millions), it should be realized and realized thankfully that the work has not been merely a nominal change from one superstition to another, but a thoroughgoing effort to civilize and to present every possible opportunity for betterment. The masses have still a long way to go, but they have been and are being all the time carefully, vigilantly, and even tenderly shepherded. Schools and churches and pastoral visitations assist their living conditions. Habits of Scripture-study and prayer are inculcated persistently. Female education, that infallible lever of uplift, is insisted on. The second generation in many cases shows improvement, though it is always more difficult to deal with. When the third and fourth generations arrive, Christian principles find a natural place in their thinking. I wish I were free to mention the names of individuals who, by rising to marked prominence and acknowledged respect, have in almost every language area demonstrated the success of this method. Among them at the present day are many hundreds of university graduates, and they occupy positions of influence and approved efficiency

in every honorable walk of life, some of them having risen to be principals of colleges, leaders at the bar, and to many of the highest positions in the revenue and judicial departments of government.

No business can flourish which condemns one-sixth of its capital to permanent depreciation. In our country the greatest asset is our population. About one-sixth of the people, something like fifty millions, have been for ages deprived of the ordinary advantages of life. The work of Christian missions hitherto has been to throw open closed doors, to present every opportunity there is, and to afford facilities for their taking hold of as many opportunities as they can. The results have already shown the success of the methods. If this is not national service I wonder what it is!

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All these things that I have claimed on behalf of Christian missions will be reckoned by the Christian missions themselves to be of less moment when compared with the central purpose of their presence in India. Let it be frankly said that the Christian missionary is here not primarily for educational or social or economic service or even for medical relief. It is not simply for these things that he dedicated his life on the altar of God. If he does these things it is because they are in line with the accomplishment of his

central purpose; because, being good in themselves, he cannot fail to do them when he is on a mission of helpfulness. What is his central purpose, then?

Christianity, like Islam, is essentially a missionary religion. So is our own Buddhism and Jainism. Such has also been the characteristic of many of the sects which have arisen in the course of our history. How did Hinduism spread from the Khyber Pass to Dibrugarh and Cape Comorin? It spread by throwing its mantle on all. When the religious impulse gets hold of a great personality, it perforce becomes communicative, and forthwith there is formed a school of thought which perhaps becomes a sect, and later, if it has vitality enough and conditions are favorable, it develops into a religion of its own. And if there is in it some very great message of fundamental importance to all mankind, and if it is at all timely, it succeeds in breaking through even national barriers and spreads over the world.

No student of history with any discernment will feel anything but humble gratitude for the missionary religions which have from time to time risen in some small nook of the world and have spread over great races of mankind. Who can estimate adequately the enormous uplift, moral, social and spiritual, which was secured by the vitalizing energies of Buddhism for millions of Mongolian peoples; by Christianity for the fierce Teutonic and

Slavic tribes—the fathers of the modern nations of Europe; by Islam for the wild wanderers of desert and wilderness—the fathers of the mighty empires of Baghdad, of Delhi, of Constantinople and of Cairo; by Christianity again in recent times for all the races of the world which have lagged behind in the great African continent, in various lands of Asia, and in the cannibal islands of the Pacific Ocean?

Many nations acquired even their capacity for culture solely through the avenue of religion. Today culture might possibly be conceived apart from religion. If that is so, it is because religion has brought culture up by hand, and enriched it. At all events, till very recent times man did not have culture or any other independent agency for his uplift; whereas, as a matter of literal truth, the missionary religions galvanized nation after nation, enabling them to secure in a few generations what they would otherwise have taken several centuries to attain, if they attained it at all.

Nor has mankind lost this need for the missionary religion. Not education, not art, not social reform, but a great religion is men's only hope. They need to be shaken out of themselves, to be fired by high purposes, to be vitalized by the spirit of God before they can get even a capacity for art and science and social reconstruction.

In India itself there are fifty million of those

who have lagged behind; to use Mahatma Gandhi's significant term, those who have been suppressed. The Hindu social organization has for forty centuries condemned them to an existence outside the reach of those forces which have from time to time energized the peoples who are within the faiths comprehended under the term Hinduism. In spite of the ban, these same suppressed classes have repeatedly demonstrated their latent possibilities. They are men and women with God-given souls, and they are with us everywhere in town and village, children with us of Mother India, and their condition is a silent challenge to our manhood. They need a redemption satisfactory to the self-respect of human personality; they need a hope which can fire their ambition; they need a faith which can enable them to work out their uplift with persistence and patience. These can be conferred only by religion; all other things can only be subsidiary.

But the critic will say that the propagandist work of Christian missions is by no means confined to the uplift of the depressed classes, that Christianity is also being presented throughout the higher strata of society. India has already a glorious history of religious expression, in word as in deed, in teaching as in life. True, for forty centuries there has been an almost uninterrupted succession of prophets and devotees who have handed on the torches of spiritual

light from generation to generation. To my knowledge there is scarcely a sect in that magnificent network called Hinduism which was not originated by a seer, great in his love, who though dead yet speaketh to thousands of troubled souls. Those religions and the wealth of literature they created and, more than all, the atmosphere and the spirit which they meant and mean, are the heritage of all the higher strata of Hindu society. What need then of another religion, especially as its roots and traditions are from outside India? It might be of benefit for the depressed classes, but where is the call for it for the others?

A great change has been coming over the attitude of missions towards other religions, and more especially towards Hinduism. The change has been gradual and three distinct stages may be noticed. The original missionary was frankly an iconoclast. He was profoundly ignorant of the country and its people, and much more of its religion, which is after all the subtlest possession of human personality. He judged from what he saw on the surface, and forthwith concluded that what he had brought must displace almost everything he saw. Even such great missionaries as Alexander Duff maintained this attitude.

The first change came gradually with the revelation of India's cultural heritage. The discovery of

Sanskrit by the West was like the rise of a great luminary in the sky. It had its effect on many phases of European thought, and naturally also on the attitude of the missionaries, particularly those actually in the country and engaged in urban areas. Let it be admitted that the change did not come about easily, and that it has not been entirely effected even yet. Nevertheless the change is true of the great bulk of the missionary force in the country. That changed attitude is one of high regard towards Indian religions; nay, it goes farther and looks at them with reverence as having emanated from the eternal Logos, the mind of God in the course of its self-expression to the experience of man. Readers of this article should be familiar with Dr. J. N. Farquhar, for many years chief Literature Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. and now Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Manchester, whose *Crown of Hinduism* set the seal definitely on the changing attitude. Every religion is from God, but the culmination of all religion is in the revelation of God through Jesus Christ. That was, in short, the new attitude; not merely tolerant but reverent and constructive towards all non-Christian religions.

But there has been a still further change in more recent times. Or I should rather say that the further change is what is now in process of being perfected. Missionaries of the school of Dr. Farquhar, with all

their deference to non-Christian religions, were still convinced deeply that what they knew was indubitably the last word in God's revelation to man. The best missionary opinion is now definitely moving away from that attitude. There is a more humble approach to the whole question. If God has been speaking to the Hindus through their experience and history as individuals and groups for forty centuries, obviously he has trained them to understand and interpret his mind in ways different from the ways of those disciplined in totally different conditions of life and thought to whom the missionary belongs. The more one studies the heritage of India and all that it has meant in regard to human personality, the more one is convinced that there has been some eternal purpose behind it. There can be no wastage in God's economy of the human race.

The attitude of the modern missionary therefore is that of a fellow-student with his Indian friend at the feet of Christ. The missionary knows Christ in his own way; but there is vastly more in Christ than is yet known to the churches in the West. The greatest service that one man can do to another is to introduce him to Jesus Christ. But Jesus Christ holds in his personality unfathomable riches of the mind of God, relevant to human life and destiny. To learn more of him the missionary needs the fellowship of all earnest seekers after God, trained in a

different discipline from his own. That is in fact the greatest compensation that he can receive from his Hindu friend for the inestimable privilege of having introduced him to Jesus Christ. It is in this attitude that the spiritual work of the Christian missionary for those of the middle and higher strata is bound more and more to be done. There is no less conviction in the mind of the missionary as regards Jesus Christ himself; Christ is still to him his everything, the eternal Logos himself; but the attitude is not only reverent but much more humble and therefore much more positive and constructive than it used to be.

The future we know not. Sometimes one wonders if we did unwisely in maintaining an open-door policy all through our history. But those Far Eastern nations which jealously shut the door have not succeeded in their isolation. A careful estimation of values does in fact make clear that our free trade in culture has left us all the time richer, and even ahead of the rest of the nations of the world in the things that are real. But the process has been and is like that of constant cross currents and frequent sharp conflicts of ideas and cultures. Today the great arena where the master religions of the world compete for the solution of the problems of man is India. It is in India apparently that the world harmony is to be wrought. From this process where the destiny

of a great nation is being evolved in such courageous comprehensiveness, who in conscience will wish to exclude the spirit of Jesus Christ? More even than the magnificent impact of organized Christianity, there is the dynamic in the intangible influences which issue from his spirit. The response of India to him, totally apart from the community which bears his name, is deep and true. But it is our deeply passionate hope that this response shall be our own, not a replica of anything that is or has been anywhere else. We want to conserve our own culture and bring it to further fruition by assimilating the best from the other cultures of the world. We want to be India, and nothing else. It is right there that the spirit of Christ will lead us; not destroying but constructing; not multiplying points of conflict but effecting reconciliations; not arousing in men's hearts empty desires for material power and wealth, but creating and sustaining those world influences which abide when the shadows of profit and power fall to their places.

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VII

PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN CHURCH

ALTHOUGH the tradition that St. Thomas founded a church in this land in the first century A. D. is not beyond historic question, there is no doubt that Christianity has existed in India at least from the sixth century. A remnant of this once extensive church, known as the Syrian Christian Church, is still to be found in the southwest corner of India. It has come under the successive influences of the Nestorian, Roman Catholic, Jacobite, and Protestant churches, and for this reason we find in the Syrian Christian community today Roman Catholics, Jacobites, Chaldeans, Syrians and Anglicans.

Cut off from the rest of India by mountains on the one hand and the sea on the other, the Syrian churches lived their own life, and socially the community formed itself into what amounted to a caste, principally for the sake of holding fast its social and economic status. In the Hindu states of Travancore and Cochin, to which this community is almost entirely confined, the members received high privileges and recognition by the government. All this favorit-

ism deprived them in time of whatever spiritual vision they had, and for several centuries the church exercised scarcely any Christian influence on the life and thought of non-Christian India. It was at this stage that it received the evangelical impact of Protestant foreign missionary societies, and under the leadership of a saintly reformer, Abraham Malpan, a section of it, seeing a new spiritual vision, broke away from old yokes and formed the Mar Thoma church with a bishop of its own.

The privilege of pioneership in the evangelization of India was given to foreign missionary bodies, first among which was the Roman Catholic Church. The political conquest of the country by the Portuguese in the beginning of the sixteenth century was accompanied by strong religious propaganda which, through the honest missionary efforts of noble personalities like Francis Xavier and the patronage of government, received a generous response in India. The Roman Catholic Church succeeded in gathering into its fold large numbers of people from among the different classes. Its adherents now total a little over three millions.

The early years of the seventeenth century saw the decline of the Portuguese power. Trading posts were established by the Dutch, the Danes, the English, and the French. There followed a century and a half of struggle among the European powers for com-

mercial and political supremacy in which the English finally gained the upper hand, and by the close of the eighteenth century they had established their power securely. Protestant missions began in 1706 at the Danish settlement in Tranquebar where the two German missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, with the influence of the court of Denmark back of them, were allowed to open their work.

The rise of deism in Europe, the conflict among Western nations for power in India, and the fear that Christian religious propaganda might prejudice Indians against the English, all led to a temporary lull in missionary work during the eighteenth century. Soon, however, Christians in Europe began to criticize this inaction, in which the policy of the British East India Company was recognized as playing a powerful part. When, therefore, the revision of the Company charter took place in 1813, William Wilberforce and his friends fought so successfully in favor of missionary work that the Company was forced to allow missionaries to enter India. William Carey and his companions, under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society, were among the first to take advantage of this opportunity. One society followed another, not only from Europe but also from America, until we have in India today about two hundred and fifty Protestant missionary societies, represented by over six thousand missionaries and report-

ing about two and a quarter millions of communicants.

Leaving denominational and doctrinal differences apart, we may group the Christian community in India under three distinct heads: the village churches, the city churches, and the European churches.

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No country in the world presents social phenomena similar to those of India. The caste system, though it served a useful purpose at one time towards preserving the social purity of the Aryan conquerors, cruelly thrust the aboriginal people to the level of beasts. Ill-fed, ill-clad, without mental enlightenment, they were the servile dependents of their conquerors. They were depressed indeed, both physically and mentally. Such are nearly sixty millions of India's people today. The social message of Jesus Christ, with its wonderful hope of freedom from fear and bondage, was blessedly welcome to these people. It is doubtful whether they have caught a great deal of the length, breadth, depth and height of the life in Christ, but they have certainly grasped that part of it that brings to them social uplift and individual self-respect. The village church congregations are mainly if not entirely composed of these depressed-class Christians. When we think of the life from which they have come we may be able to understand

a little of the tremendous problems with which their churches are faced.

The low percentage of literacy in India is well known. After all these hundred and fifty years or more of contact with Western nations, only six out of every hundred Indians can read and write. On analyzing the literate population we find that among the higher castes, chiefly the Brahmins, literacy is almost universal. Illiteracy is mainly confined to the depressed classes. One of the greatest tasks the church in India has to face is the education of its members. With large additions to the church year by year, particularly in the mass-movement areas, literacy is appallingly on the decline in the Christian community. In his book, *The Indian Outlook*, recently published, the Rev. W. E. S. Holland says: "A church of rapid growth, it is increasing by 33 per cent each decade. They [converts from the depressed classes] are coming in by adult baptism at the rate of 3000 every week, drawn almost exclusively from the bottom stratum of Hindu society, the untouchables to whom Hinduism has for centuries denied even ordinary human rights. . . ." One mission reports: "Between 1896 and 1916 we added barely one thousand Christian boys to our schools, while the Christian community increased by 260,000! . . . They at once drag down the average level of education in the Christian community." Even among the

literates a goodly proportion lapse back into illiteracy.

Ordinarily a boy spends four years in school, from the age of five to nine. The first year is spent almost entirely in mastering the alphabet, which leaves only three years for the kind of education that is to equip him for life. Attempts are being made to rectify this sad wastage of years; the notable experiments of the missionaries of the American Presbyterian Mission at Moga in the Punjab with the project method have been found the most successful of these attempts. The results of their experiments are being made available to other missions and to the general public through the efforts of the National Christian Council of India. Continuation schools and night schools are also being tried, to the end of keeping up the interest of the pupils in their studies after they leave school. Very little has been done on a wide and organized scale for the spread of education among adults. The adult education movement of the West needs to be followed, adjusted, of course, to our peculiar needs. There is a sad dearth of literature of the right type which can be distributed for reading after school. Various literature societies are making useful attempts along this line, but the supply is still far from meeting the needs.

Another serious problem of the village Christians is that of employment. A large proportion of liter-

ates refuse to go back to their former occupations. They are not to be wholly blamed for this. Conditions of labor are so demeaning and remuneration is so low that a man with any education finds it distasteful to revert to the calling of his fathers. Improvement of the conditions of labor in India depends on the employer and on the government. So long as labor is unorganized and without influence, and those in power are unmindful of the laborers, we cannot expect that a Christian member of the depressed classes who has had a vision of the possibilities of human personality which were revealed by Jesus Christ, will voluntarily seek work that deprives him of his self-respect and the opportunity for self-development.

The problem of poverty among village Christians is truly deplorable. Eighty-five per cent of the people of India are either agriculturists or field laborers. Extensive investigations made in the different provinces show that for a family of five—father, mother and three children—an average income of eighteen rupees per month will be needed for bare physical livelihood. Government statistics show that the average Indian per capita income is, on the most generous calculation, only about seventy rupees a year. The income of the average village Christian must necessarily be much less. The aid of the village *sahukar* (money-lender) is sought to supplement the

income, and small amounts are borrowed at the appalling rate of eighteen to thirty-six per cent interest, and oftentimes more. Under these conditions men migrate from the villages to the towns, seeking employment. This migration brings its own problems with it. Attempts are being made to settle village Christians in small plots of land which in time they can own. The attempts have not always been successful. Failure can be traced chiefly to lack of proper supervision, and to lack of understanding of the mentality of the villager. There is no reason why, with the right understanding of conditions and with right methods, such settlements should not prosper. Three activities may be mentioned which are being tried and which may help towards the desired solution.

The first activity is intensive agriculture. Indians are an agricultural people. For hundreds of years the land has been cultivated. But scarcely any appreciable attempts have been made to improve the condition of the soil and to introduce better implements of labor. The government has organized now an Agricultural Department with a view to advising and helping the agriculturists. But the cost of maintaining this department, and the inaccessibility of the officials to the villager, have detracted from the value that it might otherwise have. It is possible for missions still to do what the government has not

succeeded in doing. The Young Men's Christian Association through its Rural Department is making fairly successful attempts here to solve the poor man's problem.

The second activity is cottage industries. This is a matter that deserves our close attention. Farmers have plenty of leisure for at least six months in the year. This is the time when inexpensive cottage industries that every household can adopt can be carried on, and an income added to the family purse. Lace making is being done in many missions. Carpentry, spinning, weaving and other similar handicrafts find ready welcome. The *khaddar* movement in India is making a nation-wide appeal for the use of Indian-made cloth. Up to about two years ago this movement was regarded as impractical; there was a fear that it was an indirect attack on the British government, and on the cotton importers of England. Now that the bitterness of opposition has died down, people have begun to find the movement deserving encouragement and support. Mention should be made of the Salvation Army, which has been most successful in helping to develop cottage industries.

For intensive cultivation as well as for cottage industries capital is needed. Government has taken a lead in organizing cooperative societies, which have found a welcome wherever they have been introduced. Private bodies also have largely taken up this

system. These are mostly money-lending societies in India, but even as such they have done signal service to the villagers, saving them from the hands of the *sahukar* and supplying them with necessary funds at low rates of interest.

The present method of a purely literary education for village Christians is being challenged everywhere. In India we are convinced that we are on the wrong track. Literary education for the masses leads them nowhere, except to discard their old occupations and to seek clerical posts in government and mission service which can ill supply their demands. The general illiteracy, coupled with poverty and the lack of a self-respecting independent occupation, warps the personality of the village Christian, and he does not rise to the full stature of Christian manhood. Besides these, there are vexatious moral problems that threaten village churches, arising chiefly in connection with mass movements. It is not an individual that seeks Christianity; a whole village or community comes forward for baptism. In such mass conversions it is well-nigh impossible to test the quality of the men that come. At the same time it necessitates much searching of the heart to decide whether membership should be denied to any who thus seek it.

The city church in India is very different from the village church. Its members are mostly school and

college students and employees in government or other service, among whom are highly paid officers and wealthy members of the landed gentry. The problem of illiteracy does not exist, and that of poverty is not keen. The struggle here is for self-determination, for independence in thought and action. Educated Indian Christians question the right of the missionaries to control the affairs of the church and parish. This has embarrassed the relationship between them.

Devolution, that is, the devolving of the responsibility of the Indian church upon itself, is gradually advancing, and one is glad to note that it has become an accepted policy of missionaries to delegate their powers to Indians as fast as they can. An excellent attempt at this is being made by the Anglican Church in the Indian Church Measure, which, in brief, means the handing over of the entire administration of the Anglican churches in India to the Christian community in this land. This bill when passed will have far-reaching effects in the Indianization of this church.

We may mark three stages in the attitude of the Indian Christians towards foreign missions. At first the missionary was regarded as the patriarch of a family. He acted his part well, feeding the family, clothing them, educating them, criticizing them, and generally succeeded in keeping them contented and

happy as children. They submitted to the father in all things, accepting his decisions. In time they grew up to manhood and became more independent, and later they claimed equality with the father, expecting him to be glad that they were thus offering him counsel in the work, and sometimes criticizing him with the ardor of youth. This situation was aggravated by the growth of nationalism. The policy and methods of the government were questioned, and Mahatma Gandhi, the revered saint and leader, carried on the crusade without fear of consequence. The crusade reacted on the Indian Christian in his attitude toward the missionary, and his demands became more insistent than ever. But even this stage is passing, and we are entering on a new relationship.

The congregations of European churches in India consist almost entirely of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, either domiciled in the country or out here for a period of time in government service or in business. These churches are nearly all under the government, and are ministered to by chaplains and bishops provided by the government. Their financial resources place them beyond any problems of the kind that Indian churches have to face. Their privileges and advantages would warrant the expectation that a direct Christian influence would emanate from them throughout the land, but instead, these churches seem to be more like desert places, exercising scarcely any religious influence on the life of the country and

making no serious attempts to ameliorate the condition of India's people. They live their own isolated life, self-contained. The policy of government on religious questions is strict neutrality, but one wonders whether neutrality is meant to be indifference. The people of India do appreciate those government servants who live the Christlike life in India. But there is a large business community of Westerners in India which, by its immense material resources, intellectual and business capacity, and independence of government control could render very great service to the growth of the church, and yet one cannot trace any helpful cooperation on its part with Indian Christians, or any enthusiasm for the spiritual welfare of India. Great business firms which send out their servants to India could help the church immensely if they would send men from whom they could expect a certain standard of moral conduct and spiritual interest.

A scheme has yet to be devised which will bring the European churches into active cooperation with the Indian churches, so that they may mutually strengthen each other and work together for the cause of Christ in this land.

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More than all these there is one supreme matter with which the church should concern itself, and which is in great danger of being lost sight of in the

struggle for independence, in the adjusting of relationships, and in improving the prosperity of the community; and that is the spiritual growth and witness of the Christian church is a land which has a discerning eye in differentiating between the real and the unreal, between spiritual and material values. We have fallen far short of the standards and the life of Jesus Christ, our Master, and although the church is busying itself increasingly in missionary activity, we may well stop to ask ourselves whether we have the dynamic for it. What is it that is impelling us, if indeed it be that we are moving forward? The supreme purpose of the church is that of Christian fellowship for the sake of corporate Christian service, and its great mission is to discover how best this purpose can be worked out.

We can all witness by our own personal lives. One may remark with a heart full of thankfulness that there are many persons in India who live by the spirit of Christ, and whose witness-bearing is effective. We find men who do not belong to the Christian church searching after truth and living by the light that guides them, and who bear in their lives of sacrifice, piety, and service the marks of Jesus Christ. At the time of writing this article, it was the privilege of the writer to come into contact with such a man, a Brahmin, who had left home, family, property, everything, to seek after God, and

whose very presence seemed an inspiration. He believes that the soul's supreme quest is seeking to attain oneness with God, and this can come only by complete self-surrender, and only after we have surrendered all do we find peace. Such personalities exist in all parts of India. The individual Indian Christian may claim that he has love, joy, and peace more than the average non-Christian. But Hindu India refuses to accept the claim when from among its own sons have arisen men and women who have attained nearer the Christ ideal than the Christians around them. Daily, hourly, the church in India is confronted with this challenge.

The Christian home is another effective witness. In India the unit of society is not the individual but the family. The conception of a home in India puts an undue strain on the breadwinner, clogs the freedom and initiative of the individual, and may thus tend to disturb the harmony of the home. But it has its distinct value. The responsibility on the part of each member towards the family, the willingness to bear one another's burdens and to share one another's good things, the subordinating of oneself for the good of the whole—all these are Christian virtues which we do not want to lose in India. The joint-family system is rapidly disintegrating, with very little to take its place which makes the same demands on the individual for sacrifice and service.

The Indian Christian models his home more on Western lines, which, without the corresponding Western background, training and mentality, proves to be a very poor and hollow imitation. This alienates the Hindu, who feels that the Indian who becomes a Christian is unfaithful to his heritage and country. One of the main causes of Hindu opposition to Christian conversion is the disruption it brings to the home. We want to preserve what is of value in our heritage in the light of Christianity, and it is only such homes that can make the message of Christ practical to the Hindu. There are over two million *sadhus* in India, men and women alike, who have detached themselves from the world and who lead solitary unfettered lives in quest of the unseen. This evokes the respect and admiration of all, but is not possible to all. The average man wants to know whether the Sermon on the Mount can be put into practice in everyday life. It is here that the value of the Christian home as a missionary factor comes in.

The Hindu thinks largely in terms of his caste and community, and he looks to the Christian church in India to take a lead in redressing the wrongs and alleviating the suffering of the people. The present age sees an awakened India. In her struggle to achieve independence and freedom to work out her own salvation in matters political, she is discovering more and more that her greatest enemy is from

within and not from without. She cannot trample on a fifth of her population and at the same time protest against foreign supremacy and control. She cannot keep ninety-four per cent of her people illiterate and ignorant, and at the same time administer the affairs of 320,000,000 souls. She cannot hope to improve her economic condition, and yet allow herself to be saturated with liquor and submerged in debt. Great remedial movements have been set afoot. In the forefront of the program of the Indian National Congress are placed the removal of untouchability and communal strife. This problem is perhaps most acute in south India. Non-caste men cannot draw water from public wells, even certain public roads are forbidden to them, and the temples are closed to their worship. The long-pending grievance found an outlet about three years ago, when the non-caste Hindus offered passive resistance at the roads around the temples in Vaikom, in Travancore. The police interfered and the offenders were imprisoned, but fresh men took their places, and daily without any violence they kept their vigil at the entrance to these roads. Their suffering won the victory for them, and now most of the public roads near the temples are thrown open to them.

The problem of drink is another social question in which Indians are interesting themselves today. The example of the United States with its prohibi-

tion law has been of no small value here. With strong public support a movement has been launched to put a stop to the drink evil. Prohibition workers interview drunkards and wait in front of liquor shops to advise and dissuade would-be drinkers; leaflets are published and distributed, public demonstration meetings are held, and many other ways are being tried to help the cause. These activities have in some places brought the movement into conflict with the government. Indian leaders in some of the legislative councils of the provinces have brought in proposals and resolutions for prohibition, and have tried to persuade the government to give up the income from the excise revenue.

In all such movements for the public welfare Indian Christians have refrained from taking an active part. The church has failed to make itself count in movements affecting the common welfare. Here is the challenge to her to throw in her lot with the land, to be baptized with the nation's sorrows, and to bring the healing and the power and the wisdom that are in Jesus Christ to the suffering people. We have failed in this, and are in danger of losing any credit we may have had in the eyes of non-Christian India.

Exception may be taken to this charge, and it may be pointed out, not without good reason, that these social movements are the result of the slow but steady permeation of the Christian message. Jesus Christ

has a place in India today. There is hardly a public meeting in which his name and message are not mentioned with reverence and admiration. Though all this be true, it still holds that the church in India as such remains a silent and more or less passive spectator of the struggles of the nation. It may be because the Indian Christian community has formed itself into a social organization with private interests. The community may hope to secure political privileges from the existing government, and for these privileges they may be willing to sell their birthright. The picture would be tragic indeed if it were not also mentioned that the angle of vision is slowly changing. The National Christian Council of India, which embodies some of the best Christian public opinion, has fully awakened to this crisis and is taking the lead in new activities. The investigation it made into the opium question, and the public recognition and success which attended it, are well known. The industrial situation is now its prime concern. Some authoritative literature has been published on these matters which has commanded the attention of the public and government. The export of opium has now been restricted, with a view to its final abolition except for medicinal purpose.

The Christlike work of lifting the fallen and succoring the helpless, noble examples of which are to be found in the Pandita Ramabai Homes at Mukti,

near Poona, and the rescue of temple-children in Dohnavur in south India, receives universal admiration. The work of the Salvation Army has always commended itself to the government and the public. In addition to evangelistic work, its leaders do wonderful service in the redemption of children of criminals, in the economic and social uplift of outcastes through the development of industries, and through the ministry of prayer and preaching and song. Their attempts to adapt themselves to Indian conditions by simple Indian ways of living, and their hearty cooperation with their Indian co-workers, ought to be held up as a lesson to all other missions and missionaries who come to serve India.

But these are only the beginnings of good things; the non-Christian world calls for a deeper and more hearty cooperation. It ought to be the watchword of the church to make common cause with the rest of India and with the government, fearlessly to take an active part in all that is done for the progress and welfare of the Indian people: "to preach the gospel . . . to heal the broken-hearted . . . to preach deliverance to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised."

This cooperation with the non-Christian in social and political matters is only a means to an end. The purpose of the church is to bring all men to the feet of Jesus Christ. There have been large additions to

the church from the submerged classes, but the intelligentsia still stand outside and refuse to come in. Though they give Christ a place as one of the greatest figures of humanity, they do not give him the unique place in their hearts. They have yet to find in him the all-sufficient Savior who satisfies their yearnings and fills their lives.

The Indian church once thought that if it secured equality of status with the foreign missions all its problems would be solved. It now realizes that this alone does not suffice. It was this realization that brought the National Missionary Society of India into being. The society quickly captured the interest of Indian Christians, and has grown, during its twenty odd years of life, from very small beginnings to a well-established indigenous Christian mission, raising its annual budget of three-quarters of a *lakh* of rupees entirely in India. The society has further helped to unite in service various denominations, and through its inspiration and experience other activities have been started. *Ashrams,* those quiet abodes of retreat for fellowship in prayer and service, have been one of the great institutions of India from time immemorial. Almost the first Christian *ashram* was started under the auspices of the National Missionary Society, in Tirupathur in south India. There are a few others in other parts of the country. By the simplicity of life of those who compose them, by their

single-hearted devotion to God and their eagerness for service, these *ashrams* have all greatly appealed to the heart of India, and through them Christ is being interpreted anew in terms of Indian life. The life and work of the beloved Mahratta Christian poet and singer, Narayan Vaman Tilak, is a noteworthy example. It is a custom sanctified by tradition for Hindu bards and sacred singers to move from place to place, singing their beautiful religious hymns to enraptured audiences. These singers constituted one of the chief means of spreading religious knowledge. Tilak put into verse the story of Jesus, and his *Christayanam* is sung by wandering preachers to the villages in all parts of the Mahratta country.

The subject of baptism is called into question in many circles in India today. There are a number of "unbaptized Christians" in this land, men who by their lives show that they have accepted Jesus Christ as their Lord and Master, but who see no value in attaching themselves to the church. Tilak once suggested a Durbar, consisting of the baptized and unbaptized disciples of Christ, which he said "should become a real universal family, to be known as real friends of men and real patriots through whom the world gains once more a vision of the Lord Jesus Christ."

Sadhu Sundar Singh's life and work are known so

well over the Christian world that they need no further explaining here. His simple Hindu *sannyasi* costume and way of living and his wandering mystic life have given him an entrance to every Indian home, while his single-hearted devotion to God and his spreading of the knowledge of God among men regardless of all other interests that life holds, have made him the true Indian Christian *sadhu.*

We have had and still have much doctrinal controversy. It is true of us, as of churches elsewhere, particularly in mission fields, that our minds have been confused with much teaching. It cannot but be said that through foreign missions there have come into the different churches doctrines and views on questions of religion and Christianity which do not contribute to the best development of Christianity in India. Denominational differences have been deeply emphasized, and the interests of the congregations narrowly confined to their own particular sects and faiths. And the result? While church unity is the main theme of many of the leaders of the church, both Indian and Western, and while we see the vision of a united Christian community in India witnessing for the Master, we find that Indian Christians have so well learned the old lessons of denominational differences that they have developed into more rigid Anglicans, Baptists, Wesleyans and

others than even the Western adherents of these denominations can be. It is one of our tragedies that one of the chief obstacles in the way of free and natural development of the church and of united Christian service in India today is the narrowness and conservatism of the Indian Christians themselves. Does it not testify to the manner in which missionaries did their work in the past? And it would be well for the missionaries today to search themselves to discover whether this attitude in their Indian congregations is not fostered by them rather than condemned.

This does not imply that the Indian church wants to be rid of the foreign missionary; far from it. But the time has come when we would say farewell to them in their capacity as masters, and welcome such of them as are willing to come among us as friends and fellow-workers, for we deeply need such fellowship. Examples are not wanting of missionaries who have the highest capacity for leadership, who have always been masters in their spheres of work, yet who in the past have occupied subordinate positions, under Indian leadership and control, in the task of guiding the church to its destined end.

In this limited space we could do nothing more than just touch upon the beginnings of the church in India, its present situation, its problems, and its high calling. And now we seem to be gazing into the future, deeply conscious of our failure in the past

and our incapacity to accomplish of ourselves the work before us. It is here we need the fellowship in prayer and service of our brethren in Christ Jesus in other parts of the world.

K. K. KURUVILLA

Kottayam, Travancore

VIII

COOPERATION FROM THE WEST

THE international aspect of Christianity has come into prominence in recent years more than ever before. What Christian people do in any part of the world in their relationship with non-Christian groups—in the promotion of trade, in the acquisition of wealth, in spreading what is generally known as civilization—becomes widely known, in spite of the attempts of influential but interested news agencies at suppressing and distorting facts. The world has learned to subject every action and attitude of professing Christian nations and their representatives, either in their own countries or abroad, to the rigorous tests which Christianity itself has taught the world to apply. The result is that nations and countries which were once supposed, in their dealings with other peoples, to be animated by Christian standards and for that reason were held in some esteem by the Eastern world, have ceased to be so held. An ordinary Oriental does not easily find, in the conduct of that section of the West which makes its impact felt on himself and his country, many of the qualities of Christianity which have

made their greatest appeal to him. On the other hand, he sees many things in it which are a negation of Christianity. It is important to bear this fact in mind when we speak of cooperation from the West. It is only with Christian forces in the West that the church in India can cooperate. Whether such forces can be separated from the more powerful but un-christian forces of imperialism, trade expansion and industrial competition in which the West seems to be hopelessly entangled, is a question for the Western church to answer. But as far as the Indian church is concerned, she is becoming increasingly cautious about any sort of cooperation from the West, because she fears that in the end it may mean her further subordination in cultural, economic and political life.

It is obvious, then, that the Christian forces of the West have to seek cooperation with the Christian forces in India. The number of professing Christians in India being very small compared with the total population, it is natural for people in the West to look for Christian forces only within the confines of the Christian church. But they are not thus limited to organized churches. India, though brought into touch with Jesus Christ long ago, remained almost indifferent to his spiritual message for many years. Later on, India's reaction developed into an attitude of suspicion and opposition, due largely to the fact that his message came through the members of

a race which by force of arms had subjugated the country. This attitude was once described by a shrewd Indian thus: "The Westerners have somehow floored us and broken our bones. When we are in this helpless condition they come to us and preach the gospel. Our first concern is to be on our feet again and fight them to a finish. We are not in a mood to listen to the Christian gospel which comes through such men." This summed up, though rather crudely, the general attitude of India towards Christ and his message till about fifteen or twenty years ago.

But now, owing to circumstances which it is impossible to set forth here, the attitude of India toward Christ has undergone a wonderful change. There is noticeable, especially within the last decade, among the educated and enlightened of the land a sympathetic appreciation of his life and teachings, and, far more remarkable, an acceptance of his standards of values so far as they are understood. Moreover, we find individuals and groups who, although they will have nothing to do with organized Christian churches, strive to practise Christ's principles and to live the Christlike life. The great message of Christ that evil cannot be overcome by evil or by force, but only by voluntary suffering and if need be, death, has enriched the ideal of *ahimsa* (non-violence) already familiar in India. The application of this dynamic truth to the practical affairs of pres-

ent-day Indian life—for the removal of untouchability, the evils of caste, the solution of the strife between Hindus and Moslems, and the attainment of economic and political freedom for the country—has already begun, with encouraging results. There are signs that those outside the Christian church who are thus influenced by Christ and his ideas are being led into ventures of faith and adventurous efforts for the realization of the Christ ideals in practical life.

The organized Christian church in India, on the other hand, is showing a fatal tendency to settle down to a frame of mind which makes it difficult for new efforts and adventures to be launched with its encouragement, much less under its guidance. Unless the Christian church wakes up to the situation, a time will soon come in India when those outside the church will more truly reflect the mind and spirit of Christ than those who call themselves Christians. The spirit of Christ that is now abroad in India is finding expression in several movements which claim the self-sacrifice and devotion of some of the ablest men, who by no standards prevalent in the church would be considered Christians. These movements have come into being to meet some of the crying needs of the country: village reconstruction; the promotion of hand-spinning and weaving as a subsidiary occupation for millions of agriculturists the produce of whose lands even in the best of years is not able to

keep them above the poverty line; the spread of education among the masses; the elevation of the depressed classes. Those who come to the country representing the Christian forces of the West cannot afford to neglect, much less refuse to cooperate with, movements such as these simply because they have not the Christian label on them.

While it is necessary to recognize and consider as our allies all the forces and tendencies in India which, though operating outside the church, are animated by the spirit of Christ, it is natural and proper for the Christian church of the West to have more of a common outlook and unity of purpose with the church in India than with any other bodies or groups of people, however much they may approximate to Christian standards. Whatever may be the failures of the church, whether of the West or of the East, it cannot be forgotten that the church still remains the agency through which Christ and his message are transmitted to the world. The message may be imperfectly expressed and its full significance may be obscured by the racial and cultural limitations of the people who interpret it, but we have to remember that the Christian message would in all probability not have reached India and made the appeal it is making today if the church had not been spreading it, however haltingly and imperfectly. So it is clear that the Christian church in India should be a partner

with the church of the West in the work of making known and accepted the ideals of Christ, which is the common and supreme task of the churches everywhere.

The question then arises, in what ways and on what terms the Christian West can cooperate best with the church in India. A fact of great significance to be noted is that the church in India is at different stages of progress and development in different areas, and methods of cooperation in one area may not be possible in another. Broadly speaking, there are three areas: what may be called the developed fields, where missionary work has been in progress for a hundred years or more and where there are vigorous progressive and often self-assertive communities of Christian Indians; the undeveloped fields, where those who form the church have been recently drawn from the depressed classes and are now only slowly emerging from the degradation they had been subjected to for generations; and the pioneer fields, where there are no Christians, and where the Christian message has yet to find acceptance in the face of deep-rooted prejudice and suspicion.

It will be necessary to consider these divisions separately in order to discover what the most helpful ways are in which cooperation from the West can be offered.

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In parts of India where missionary work in the past has met with great success we find Indian Christian communities which come under the head of developed fields. Conspicuous examples are the Christian church in Tinnevelly, which is the result of the labors of the missionary societies of the Church of England; the church in south Travancore, the result of the labors of the London Missionary Society; the church in the Arcot districts of south India, connected with the American Arcot Mission; and the churches in the Madura and Ahmednagar areas, the result of the work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In other areas also Christian communities are making such progress under the care of foreign missions that within a generation or two they also will attain to a position similar to that of the more established communities mentioned above. An adjustment has been taking place in the relationship between these Christian communities and the missions concerned. The Christians are becoming part of wider church organizations in which Indian Christians of the same or similar communions but of other missions and areas have united.

For example, the flourishing Christian community in south Travancore is ecclesiastically a part of the

United Church of South India, which includes in its membership Christians of other areas who are the product of the work of American and Scottish missionary societies, some of them Congregational and some Presbyterian in policy. This is true also of the United Church of India (North), recently organized, of which the Christian community in Ahmednagar is a part. Such ecclesiastical connections tend to increase, in Christian communities until now leading an isolated life, the sense of independent existence, and to weaken the idea that the Christian community is an appendage of missions from the West. The missions are also putting into effect schemes of devolution by which the responsibility for evangelistic work and for carrying on village schools is transferred to Indian church bodies. The missions concerned accept the principle that all the work they are now doing in these areas is ultimately to be transferred to the Indian church, and that they as missions will have to cease to function and become merged in the church. Only, the missions assert, the Indian church will have to become fit for taking over the responsibility.

In spite of these adjustments of responsibilities, it must be admitted that missions still occupy the position of leadership and influence even among old Christian communities. The work so far transferred is not much in either quantity or quality. Even for

the part transferred, the missions have to give to the Indian church bodies substantial grants. The Indian church not having yet discovered ways and means of carrying on without foreign subsidies the work it has taken over, unconsciously develops an attitude of not doing anything that may adversely affect the flow of these subsidies. Then again, missions have under their direction institutions for imparting secondary and collegiate education, and establishments like mission hospitals. Perhaps they are justified in believing that the time has not yet come for turning over such work to the Indian church bodies in the field.

Nor will it be true to say that in any of the areas mentioned Indian Christians are keen on assuming responsibility for work which they think is beyond them. They fear that these things can never be their own, even if unconditionally transferred to them—property, funds, management and all—for the reason that these same things have not grown out of their own conviction of need, nor have they called forth the self-sacrifice and devotion of their own men and women. Thus the situation in the developed fields is one of complexity. Indian Christians are seeking to give expression to the Christian life in ways that will be in keeping with the Indian genius and limited material resources. They have their church organizations, in which Indian leadership and

Indian opinion count. Foreign missionaries have only such place in the church as the church allows and their individual worth merits.

Yet even though the Indian church is increasingly coming to the fore and Western missions are taking second place in the scheme of things, the progress made by the church in fulfilling its function of diffusing among its own members and those around them the life abundant in Jesus Christ is rather disappointing. For example, in some of the developed fields where people have been Christian for over a hundred years, and where missions are leaving to the local native church practically all the work there is to be done, we find the evils of caste, worldliness, and partisanship still rampant and doing great harm. The church members are absorbed in problems of church life or in adjustment of internal differences, having little thought or energy for facing larger vital questions such as improving their relations with non-Christians, making some distinct contribution to the national life of India, and interpreting the message of Christ in terms of Indian thought and life. It is possible to explain this by the peculiar circumstances under which these Christians came into the church, by their past heritage, and by the environment in which they live. But making all allowance for such factors, the question still remains to be answered: Why is it that in the developed fields

there is so little evidence of that vital Christianity which transforms all life and all relationships? This question may be asked of the Christian churches of most countries at the present day. But that consideration does not make it a less urgent or relevant question to ask about India.

A Christian community cannot be expected to embody Christ's standards in the affairs of its life unless steady work directed towards that end is done through homes, schools and churches. And these institutions cannot become centers for creating and establishing Christian character in the lives which they touch unless they are under the direction and influence of strong Christian personalities. It is especially in the training of such men and women that the West can cooperate with the church in the field. Take the case of the ministry. Even in these same areas where people have been Christian for over a century we look in vain for a body of ministers whose spiritual attainments and intellectual outlook command the respect of the laity. The ministers have been chosen and trained by the occupying missions to satisfy the needs of a Christian community characteristic of two or three generations ago. The methods of recruiting them and of training them have not been adjusted to changing conditions. The laity are making great progress in education, and in bold and clear thinking on the vital problems of the

day. But among the ministers we find little or no interest in the affairs which profoundly agitate their people. They are often wedded to a view of religion which is so other-worldly that it believes Christianity has nothing to do with problems which affect the physical, social, and economic welfare of peoples. The result is that as ministers they are unable to influence in any real manner the thinking section of their congregations. Much less are they able to give the people, disturbed by problems such as the relationship of the Christian and non-Christian religions, to say nothing of social and economic questions, any helpful lead.

It is obvious how such a state of affairs must react on the church, and how easily it tends to spread indifference to religion, or to make people satisfied with a form of it which denies what is fundamental in Christianity. The church in the West is emerging or struggling to emerge from such a stage, and is trying to bring Christianity to bear on all the problems of life, economic, social, industrial, national and international. This experience should be made available to the church in India, especially in the developed fields. One of the effective ways to make it so would be through the theological colleges and other institutions where men are now being trained for responsible positions in the church. The church in the West should be willing to spare its best men for work

in these institutions, and not be content with running them with a personnel made up of missionaries and Indian Christians who happen to be available but who may not have the quality of intellect required for leading the men who come to them for training in adventurous thought. One would even like to see chairs in the theological colleges of India being filled for short periods by men from the West who will bring a resourcefulness of scholarship and an elasticity of view which will stimulate in Indian students of theology a spirit of independent thought and research which is non-existent at the present day.

Cooperation from the West is possible also in the matter of improving the quality of education imparted in schools to the boys and girls of the Christian community. A fact familiar to all who have had occasion to examine the system of education in vogue among missions is the great disparity in quality and efficiency between girls' schools and boys' schools. This is due to the fact that devoted women from the West and also Indian women give their whole attention to the education of the girls, living with them and directing all the activities of the school towards achieving results in character training. Similar residential schools for Christian boys, run by men accustomed to use the best educational methods and capable of adapting them to conditions in India, are greatly needed. In this respect the Christian West

can render help by sending to India a few of their best educationists, even for short periods, and so help the Indian church to reorganize existing schools or establish new ones, so that from them may go out young people well equipped for practical life and rich in Christian character.

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The undeveloped fields present problems of a different kind. The Christians in these fields have been drawn in the mass from what are called the depressed classes, or have grown up out of orphanages started by missions in famine times. These converts start with very serious handicaps, economic, social and spiritual, and it is only by patient work extending through two or three generations that they are established in the path that will lead to a life equal in opportunities and possibilities to that enjoyed by their fellow-countrymen. The work in these mass-movement areas is of a character which involves the maintenance of a large number of schools and workers and institutions. The church in India will for a long time to come find it beyond its resources to finance such work; indeed in these areas the church is so undeveloped that it cannot even offer guidance or direction to the missionaries in their activities. The fact that practically the whole of the money needed for the work has to come from Western

churches places the missionaries, who are also the agents of the contributing churches, in a relationship with Indian workers and converts which is not altogether conducive to cooperation on equal terms.

In spite of this difficult situation, it is not impossible to find opportunities for promoting the cooperative spirit. Most of the undeveloped fields are not far from the areas where the maturer, better organized churches exist, and some missions are making efforts to relate to the maturer churches all mass-movement work done in their respective areas. But often such efforts at coordination or cooperation fail to arouse enthusiasm in the church itself. The reason is not far to seek. There is the belief, deep rooted among the members, that mass-movement work, at any rate as initiated and carried on by missions, will always be beyond the resources of the Indian church, and, regardless of whatever cooperation may be established, is bound to remain outside the real life of the church. Missionaries themselves are to some extent responsible for creating this belief, for they too often follow a policy which proclaims that the work is all due to men and money from the West, and that if Indians are offered a share in it it is the share of hired laborers who have simply to carry out the orders and policies determined for them.

Fortunately missions are now coming into a frame of mind which is calling in question the Christianity

implied in the dictum, "He who pays the piper should call the tune." We hear much of the changed point of view of mission boards and donors to foreign missions. We are told that they do not encourage in their missionaries the idea that because money for mission work comes from the West and because they are the representatives of the church which sends the money, they should have the final and authoritative word in all matters connected with the work. We are told that Christian people in the West who are behind the boards and the missionaries are only anxious that the money contributed should be spent in the best way possible, and it is recognized that in arriving at the best methods and the most fruitful ways the Christian church on the field will have helpful and wise advice to give. These principles as accepted by the boards need faithful and bold application by missionaries in mass-movement areas.

Several avenues are found here along which the churches of the West can cooperate with the church in India. Such cooperation may assume two broad lines: first, seeking to understand the best opinion of Indian Christians on methods of work and policies to be adopted and adopting them wherever possible; and second, discovering among Indian Christians men of consecration and ability, and giving them places of responsibility where they will

have scope for initiative and for developing work along lines most suited to Indian conditions. The first will be one of the most effective ways of avoiding the pitfalls into which Western missionaries, unaccustomed to village conditions and village people, generally fall in the course of their work. If, in the past, missionaries working in mass-movement areas had taken more trouble to ascertain Indian Christian opinion on some of the difficult problems arising in their work, some of the reproach even now associated with it could have been avoided. In regard to the second, it need only be mentioned that wherever Indians of the right type have been trusted by missions and placed in positions of responsibility, the progress of mass-movement work under their direction has been along natural lines, and along lines least open to the familiar criticism that Indian converts are being denationalized and made to look to the mission for everything.

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In spite of the fact that there are in India at the present day more than six thousand foreign missionaries and more than eight times that number of Indian workers supported by foreign funds, several regions in this vast land still demand pioneer missionary efforts. The call of these unevangelized places is being listened to, in some measure, by In-

dian Christians themselves. The National Missionary Society of India, doing good work in eight neglected centers in different sections and supported entirely by funds raised in India, is the expression of the united desire of Indian Christians to answer the call. As the Indian church grows in numbers and in influence, this movement also is bound to grow. Even then, for a long time to come there will be enough room in India for foreign missionary societies to do pioneer work.

There is pioneer work of a non-geographical order demanding the attention of missions. For instance, India is being rapidly industrialized, and all the evils of Western industrialism, such as overcrowding in industrial centers, exploitation of ignorant and unorganized labor by capital, and the denial of a living wage for workmen, are already upon her, and in an aggravated form because of the great poverty and illiteracy of her masses. Christian missions and churches have an obvious duty in the industrial situation. They should work for an increasing recognition, by the public and by the employers, of Christian standards in industry, and do all they can to make sure these are applied. The churches of the West have been facing these problems for some time and will have valuable contributions to make to the solution of similar problems in India. There are also questions like drink and the opium traffic

which vitally affect the welfare of the people, and on which the foreign Christian forces cannot afford to remain silent or inactive.

The question naturally arises: In what ways can the Christian forces from the West cooperate in pioneer efforts such as these indicated above? The answer is: In several ways.

Missions which contemplate starting work in a new field may well consider whether it will not be an advantage to have among the brotherhood of workers Indian Christians who may be led to devote their lives to such work. At present, British or American missions do not generally think of associating Indians on equal terms with the missionaries they send out. In regions where Christianity is still not known, the impression is that it is the religion of the Westerner, and this is one of the reasons for the conservative Indian's prejudice against it. It will go a great way in disabusing the minds of non-Christians of such prejudice if from the beginning of their contact with Christianity they are made to realize that in Christ there is no Indian or European. In rural areas, and especially in regions outside the beaten tracks of Western civilization, the white man enjoys a prestige which will turn the head of an ordinary human being. Even Christian missionaries cannot escape the devastating effects on their spiritual life of the abject

deference shown by the ordinary Indian to any European.

As a safeguard to the soul of the missionary, if not for reasons of expediency, it will be a wise thing to have Indians associated with him on equal terms in the interior regions. The spectacle of Indians and Europeans living together and sharing things in common is rare even in missionary circles, except perhaps in the Salvation Army. Groups of Europeans and Indians living together as brothers while preaching the gospel of Christ will help to dispel the widespread impression that the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man breaks down in actual relationship between European Christians and Indian Christians. Apart from this, such an arrangement has other advantages. The Christian enterprise will then not appear to be directed and controlled in the last resort by those who, whether American or German, are identified by ordinary Indians with the ruling race. And the Indian point of view in presenting the gospel of Christ having received some attention, the task of understanding the people and of helping them with their problems in the spirit of Christ will become more natural and more hopeful than if it were attempted by a group of foreigners who can never hope to enter fully into the spirit of another people nor into the religious traditions and culture of their land.

There is another kind of cooperation in pioneer work which is open to the church of the West. Both in the National Missionary Society of India and outside of it, but entirely based on Indian initiative and effort, there are springing up in the Indian church adventurous enterprises for making known to the people of India the love of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. Some of these efforts embrace, with suitable modifications, the methods of religious life and work familiar to the people for generations, and this gives them a predominantly Indian character. Western Christians who are prepared to pursue the quest for God in fellowship with Indians, who will be willing to give of their best and at the same time receive from others in humility what is lacking in themselves, and who are not tainted by ideas of racial inferiority or superiority, are those who are most fitted to cooperate in this manner. These Indian enterprises, growing out of the life and experience of Indian Christians themselves, and striving to express Christian ideals in such language as the people of India will easily understand, are better able to assimilate and utilize the best there is in the Western contribution, than are enterprises the ultimate control and direction of which are in the hands of Westerners.

As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, there are forces outside the Christian church in India at the present day which consciously or unconsciously work

towards the fulfilment of Christ's ideals. The Christian forces from the West will be failing to take advantage of a great opportunity if they refuse to cooperate with such movements. In the establishment of Christian standards in industrial life, in the fight against impurity, in the struggle to create a strong public opinion on the curse of drink, the use of opium, and similar evils, there is far more interest shown and actual work done by non-Christian Indians than we realize. These non-Christians will always be found willing to cooperate with the Christian forces in such work. Greater advantage should be taken by Christian missions of this willingness for cooperation. It will show beyond anything else that as Christians we are genuinely interested in the welfare of all men, irrespective of race, country or religious persuasion.

P. O. PHILIP

Poona

IX

YOUTH'S CHALLENGE TO YOUTH

INDIA is a large country, and only a large heart and mind can understand her. It is perhaps for that reason that India is often misunderstood even by clever people. Yet India longs to be understood. The writer has heard it said that young Indians are very "speakative," as the Scottish cabman would say, and perhaps, too, India speaks with varied and conflicting voices. But this is all due to India's desire to be heard.

That the youth of the church in India should be asked to send a message across the seas to the youth of the church in the West is a good augury. We wish to cast no reflection on age. When the old sage said, "Whom the gods love die young," he did not consign to an early grave all the virtuous and the noble. Surely we have a right to believe that there are men and women of sixty and seventy who are still young to the glory of God. All young people, therefore, of whatever age are sharers in this message of youth to youth.

The youth of the West is keen on service, has great energy, and is capable of much sacrifice for the

sake of the Kingdom. But India today is reluctant to accept help unconditionally. The spirit of the giver is critically scrutinized. This attitude may often embarrass devoted young missionaries, but it is the natural attitude of a nation with a great heritage, waking after years of slumber. India is sensitive where her self-respect is challenged. Patronage and condescension, however benign, are no longer of value in missionary endeavor in India. Christian service can be done only in the spirit of Christ. The message of our bard appeals to us: "Never to disown the poor, nor bend my knee before insolent might." An Indian Christian student is reported to have said that for the sake of Christ's Kingdom all foreign missionaries should leave India. It is a ridiculous statement and in no way represents the mind of young Christian India, but it shows the extent to which self-respect may be hurt. It may be that the Indian youth is supersensitive and reads insult where none is intended, perhaps as the result of an inferiority complex due to years of political bondage. Whatever the cause, no missionary need expect to win our hearts who does not sympathize with our aspirations. It is sympathetic understanding that is asked, not necessarily concurrence in our plans. A missionary who has this spirit can often help to check misdirected enthusiasm on our part, and lead us in the way of wisdom. We have only to look around to find how

many foreign men and women are carrying on in distracted India today the Christlike work of redemption and of reconciliation.

The religious quest appeals to the heart of India, and the revelation of God in Christ has the supremest fascination for our youth; and the greatest service Western youth can render to India is to come as messengers of the gospel of Christ. But they must come as fellow-students with us in the religious quest, not as dogmatic instructors. India has little use for truth in crystallized "pill" form. Appreciation of our religious heritage, and slowness to despise national weaknesses which often turn out to have been only superficial, are essential to any messenger of Jesus of Nazareth. Not long ago in one of the best British missionary journals there appeared an article by a brilliant young English missionary, printed below the unpretentious caption, "Impressions of a Six-months' Missionary." The article contained statements such as the following: "India is not naturally truthful." Indian villages have "for the most part little subject of conversation but food, money and scandal." "To spend a day in a village is enough to bring home very forcibly the utter impossibility of any form of really democratic government in a country such as this, which lacks the very elements of a demos." These are unverifiable and general statements expressed with a confidence and a superlative-

ness which bespeak the amateur. They ought for that reason perhaps to be ignored, but for the fact that this mentality is not infrequently found in a type of missionary who is impatient of educated India because it challenges his preconceived ideas and his made-up mind. To the youth of the West we would lovingly say, "Come over and help us, but come to learn as well as to teach. Let us jointly explore the infinite riches which are in Christ Jesus, and let us work together to lead India to the feet of her Lord. As we live and work together, our ways and our manners may sometimes jar on you, but exercise your imagination to realize that the converse is sometimes also true."

Imagination and open-mindedness go a long way towards helping to solve intricate problems through missionary statesmanship. The question of devolution has been in the forefront in missionary thinking in recent years, and the next decade will see greater attention focussed on it. While the question of organization is of importance, it must be remembered that devolution does not consist solely in the appointment of Indian bishops and Indian superintending missionaries. As Mahatma Gandhi said in another connection, we may today get the whole machinery of British administration filled with Indian officers, and we shall not be very much nearer to *swaraj*. This statement can be equally applied to the Indian

church. Indians cannot be sufficiently grateful to the various missionary societies for the noble spirit which has actuated all their endeavors, but the gratitude will be expressed not by strict adherence to any constitution or polity which we have received from our respective church connections, but by an endeavor to hand on to others the spiritual message which is so much more important.

During the process of devolution the Indian church will often be found to make experiments and take lines of action alien to the old missionary statesmanship, and sometimes, too, to fail because of inexperience or so-called inefficiency. On such occasions the foreign missionaries would do well to remember that the making of mistakes in the process of learning cannot be the monopoly of Americans and Britishers, and that efficiency may be dangerously overemphasized. If God's chief desire were for efficiency, there would have been a more mechanical type of humanity evolved as God's finished product. The desire for efficiency is sometimes traceable to a desire to see things done only in one's own or the accustomed way. There are good missionaries who are horrified and pained at the new language young India is beginning to speak. It is as though, after working hard for years to produce an Indian church, one got alarmed when the church actually appeared. India's impatience and the exuberant expression of

her new-found liberty may cause pain to the benign elders who have thus far nurtured our spiritual life, but such is the reward of all service of love.

Should India, then, be left alone to work out her own salvation? Most certainly not. We desperately need the assistance of the foreign missionary in our task. Those who declare that the period of missions is over or is about to be over do not represent the thinking mind of young India. The foreign missionary has a great contribution to offer, and it is a contribution which no one else can make.

The discerning foreign missionary will not only have the glorious privilege of helping to build the Indian church, he will share in the building up of the Indian nation. A young English missionary now working in a college in south India told the writer that it appeared to him that his students were not sufficiently absorbed in the national movement, and that he regarded it part of his duty to make them keener on *swaraj*. All honor to such as he. As the writer has said elsewhere, to other nations politics may be a profession or a pastime, but to India at present it is the corporate effort of a nation to recover her manhood. What true messenger of Christ can stand by and watch? It is not necessary, it is not wise, that foreign missionaries should ally themselves with any political party. But they cannot be true to their vocation if they maintain "discreet"

silence when a nation is exploited, or fail to speak the prophetic word when an injustice is done. It may seem that too great a demand is thus made of our Western brethren. But no man has a right to become a messenger of the gospel who has not fully faced its implications. We must bear this thought constantly before our minds, not only during the first glow of enthusiasm which we experienced when we dedicated our young lives in a spirit of heroic sacrifice to the service of the greatest of all heroes, but right through the long and often prosaic struggle in our daily task of evangelizing. "He that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved." With this thought uppermost, we shall be proof against that most dangerous foe in Christian service, the commercial spirit.

Not seldom do we hear in clergy conferences and missionary assemblies a great deal made of returns and statistics. "Does this pay?" asks one. Another declares that as long as money contributions come from the West, the work should go on as the constituency in the West demand. He who pays the piper has the right to call the tune. This may be a sound business principle, but it cannot apply to the Kingdom of God. We are beginning to see more clearly that the church's failure has in a great measure been due to her having often adopted the principles of the governments of this world, instead of compelling the

governments of the world by her own unequivocal witness to adopt for themselves the principles of Jesus.

"Wherever a missionary plants his flag and starts his missionary work," said a European missionary to the writer not long ago, "his one endeavor must be so to organize his converts that they may at the earliest opportunity learn to do without him." It is a hard saying but it is true, and a challenge to all missionaries, European, American or Indian. To aim at developing a self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating church, and to work so that the mother society may never stand in the way of the characteristic growth of this daughter church, should be the foremost objective even in pioneer missionary endeavor. The problem will present difficulties similar to those which a parent experiences in adjusting his relationship to a son who is beginning to assert his individuality. To hold the mean between the two positions and to guide without dominating will need the wisdom that comes from above, but it is that wisdom which, St. James tells us, God gives liberally to those that ask for it.

In this critical period of India's awakening, it is not only in political and cultural relations that a new adjustment has to be made between East and West. The subject of the relation of Christianity to the ancient religions of India is a live question. Time

was when conversion to Christianity implied a complete breach with all our traditions. Missionaries and Indian Christians alike spoke disparagingly of our ancient religions. But surely God, who in divers manners has spoken unto the fathers in the prophets, did not leave himself without witness in India. We know that Jesus Christ is God's answer not only to the aspirations of the Hebrew seers but to the passionate search of the saints and sages of Hindustan. Jesus Christ is the crown of Hinduism. Non-Christian India is beginning to recognize this supremacy of Christ, and it is a day of opportunity for the church in India so to present the Master that he may come into his own.

In a sermon preached last year on the subject, "Will Asia Become Christian?" Dean Inge said many startling things. Some of these he would not have said if he had had any direct experience of missionary effort in Asia. We cannot subscribe to the reported statement, "Supposing they worship a being with the same attributes; it does not very much matter whether they call him Buddha or Christ." If we accept this position the Christian religion becomes little more than a philosophy, and India has enough philosophy without Western aids. Perhaps the Dean meant to say that it does not matter whether we worship God under the name of God or Allah or Shiva, as long as the God we are worshiping is the

Father of Jesus. If this is the meaning, we entirely agree. What India needs is the Jesus of history and the simple story of the gospel, shown forth by the transformed lives of those who have already appropriated the gift of God in Christ. About the method of presenting the Christian message to the East the Dean had the following wise words to say:

"What we most need in our missionary work is a few saints, a few men who are really living such a life as apostles of Christ ought to live, whose lives are a living testimony not only that they believe what they teach, but that what they teach is the most holy and beautiful creed that could be believed and professed. That, surely, is the way in which from the very first our Lord both taught himself and wished his religion to be propagated—by personal influence—like the ancient torch-race in which the tired bearer handed on the lighted torch to another. That is the only way, I believe, in which Christianity can really be transmitted; and, as I say, what we need above all is real saints who will go out, full of love and sympathy, without any racial prejudices, who will try to study the lives and beliefs of the people to whom they go, seeing on the whole what is best in them, and so try to bring them to the foot of the cross."

Those of us who are in any measure engaged or intend to be engaged in what is called direct Christian work may be tempted to ask, "Who is sufficient

for these things?" It is not a cry of despair, for we do not associate despair with the hero of Tarsus. Let us read a few verses further and St. Paul himself gives the answer: "Our sufficiency is of God." The task of a missionary will overawe those who place their confidence in the resources of this world, but to those who can look to God in faith, the magnitude of the task and the difficulties in the way of it constitute not a deterrent but an incentive, a challenge and a call to draw forth the heroic in them. When we hear of the dearth of candidates for the ministry in any area, it is futile to imagine that the reasons are inadequate emoluments or existence of difficulties. We have to seek for reasons in a different plane altogether. It may be lack of faith, or it may be that the missionary's life appears easy and prosaic and not sufficiently adventurous. That is why pioneer missionary work has always made the greater appeal. But rightly viewed, the creation of a Christian church in India is fraught with adventures no less thrilling. Once we realize that as recipients of the grace of God we are as channels for God's blessings to flow through and not as receptacles to contain them, we will have no alternative but to venture forth to any task to which God calls us, without pausing to consider either our own insufficiency or the magnitude of the work. We will then "fight and not heed the

wounds," for "have we not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?"

We believe it was at the Edinburgh Conference of 1910 that a distinguished Indian Christian gave a brilliant diagnosis of the difficulties in the way of cooperation between foreign missionaries and Indian Christians of ability. Things have assumed a brighter prospect since, but what was said seventeen years ago is worth recalling. The statement, briefly, was that the pioneer missionaries in any area were naturally in loco parentis to their new converts. The latter looked up to their missionary *guru* in every way and consulted him in everything. Church government was a benevolent despotism and it worked admirably. Then followed a generation of Indian Christians of a much higher standard of education who naturally desired a larger share in the direction of their own affairs. This synchronized with the new generation of missionaries, who found themselves to be rulers of territory which they themselves had not conquered, and who, possessing less moral right to govern, made up for it by resorting to the methods of secular rulers. This was the period of friction, of assertiveness on one side and resentment on the other. Fortunately the third generation of missionaries was aware of the situation, and many came determined to see that cooperation on equal terms became the recognized principle in missionary policy. The en-

deavor has not received universal support, but the men and women who have set this ideal before them are contributing in a vital way to the regeneration of India. They are the real benefactors of the Indian church.

To join this company is the privilege of all missionaries who may come in future from the West, impelled by loyal devotion to Jesus Christ and with the single-minded purpose of serving the Master's cause in India. Their conquests may not be of this world, but their reward will be the knowledge of doing God's will, inasmuch as they are helping to bring in the Kingdom of God in India and to "usher in the Christ that is to be."

A. M. K. CUMARASWAMY

Colombo, Ceylon

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